

IN THESE TIMES

Inside
Jim Jones

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50 Cents

CARTER'S BUDGET

*Who gets the money from
the cookie jar?*



Illustration by Jim Yanagisawa

THE INSIDE STORY

Guest Column by Mark Douglas



B.B. Parker, retiring chairman of Atomic Industrial Forum.

Nuclear power industry emits a bellow of rage

Gazing out the fifth floor windows of the plush Shoreham-Americana Hotel in residential Washington, D.C., the Bechtel Company executive's smile faded into a frown when I asked about the American nuclear power industry's future.

"Look around at the conference," he said. "Twenty-five years after nuclear energy began in this country, it's dead in the water. And everybody's trying to figure out how to get it rolling again."

The gloomy pronouncement came at the annual conference of the Atomic Industrial Forum, the nuclear industry's trade association. Representatives of scores of nuclear companies, from diversified giants like Westinghouse to bit players like Yoh Security, Inc., met two weeks ago to take stock of their situation. Throughout the four-day conference, industry execs scurried back and forth across the street to the Sheraton Park Hotel to attend the winter meeting of the American Nuclear Society, another industry support group.

Devious methods of pesky activists.

Party hats and champagne were nowhere in sight at the 25th anniversary celebration of nuclear honchos. Try as they might to project optimism, even industry PR men could not ignore the American industry's troubles. After dazzling success in the early 1970s, with a record 41 domestic nuclear power plant orders in 1973, the American industry fell into a slump from which it has yet to recover. Domestic orders for the Big Four of the industry (General Electric, Westinghouse, Babcock & Wilcox, and Combustion-Engineering) number a measly 11 since 1975, with a total shutout in 1978. And export markets, formerly dominated by the Americans, have been overrun by French and German firms. Adding insult to already injured prestige and profits, electric utilities have deferred dozens of planned reactors and cancelled 27 others since 1974.

These figures reflect the serious problems plaguing the industry. Executives identified the siting and licensing of new power plants and the ultimate disposal of radioactive waste as the two major impediments to further nuclearization. A speedy solution for waste disposal was seen as crucial for allaying the public suspi-

cion that has hampered industry marketing efforts.

Citing polls that indicate public approval of nuclear power, industry officials blamed the "devious" methods of pesky anti-nuclear activists and "the tendency of the media to publicize sensational anti-nuclear events and statements" for the erosion of public acceptance of nuclear power.

But B.B. Parker, retiring chairman of AIF, pledged in his keynote speech a "vigorous and well-coordinated effort to...increase public understanding of the contribution that nuclear can make in meeting our energy needs." Parker and AIF president Carl Walske, stressed nuclear power's achievements—Walske pointed out that American nuclear power equals the total electric power generated in France—and to portray the nuclear industry as vibrant and growing.

The market will return.

The format and activities of the two conferences were amazingly similar to recent conventions held by the defense industry. The exhibit hall at the ANS meeting was chock full of flashy booths, where smooth salesmen gave the lowdown on the latest in nuclear reactor technology, attractive young saleswomen addressed the overwhelmingly male clientele by name and nervous electrical engineering majors signed up for job interviews with corporate heavies.

The large companies also maintained "hospitality suites" where prospective customers and industry cronies sipped Bloody Marys starting at 11 a.m., and watched the Oakland Raider game on Monday night. And, of course, there were White House visits, a trip to the National Gallery of Art, and a tour of Georgetown homes for bored executives' wives.

In contrast, talk at the conferences' working sessions was serious. At issue was how to get the industry back on its feet in the face of declining electricity consumption, uncertainty about governmental positions on plant licensing, waste disposal and nuclear proliferation, and an opposition movement whose political sophistication and strength are steadily growing.

Bertram Wolfe, vice president of nuclear energy for GE, candidly admitted that the difficult period the industry was going through was expected to continue for several years. But he was "certain that the nuclear market will return," and estimated that sometime in the early 1980s annual reactor orders would reach the 15 or so needed to maintain a healthy industry. Wolfe was confident of the upswing because "the U.S. economy cannot remain healthy without adequate energy supplies which means both coal and nuclear." Until then, GE will whittle away at its \$5 billion backlog of orders, and continue to fuel and service existing reactors.

Another sore spot, Wolfe affirmed, is the international market, 90 percent of which GE and Westinghouse controlled in 1972. American companies suffer a competitive disadvantage now because foreign customers doubt American reliability, he said. Government policies prohibiting the export of enrichment and reprocessing facilities (either of which can theoretically produce nuclear weapons grade materials) and relatively stricter rules about the uses of exported enriched uranium have encouraged nations to look to other suppliers, as Brazil did for its 1975 purchase from West Germany.

Arch-conservative Rep. Robert Bauman (R-MD) charged, to a resounding ovation, that this policy actually accelerated nuclear proliferation, except with European rather than American companies making the profits.

"The Carter administration," he argued, "should admit this failure and move to help our firms recapture that market."



At the Atomic Industrial Forum's (AIF) breakfast: (from left to right) Paul Turner, vice-president of AIF, Carl Walske, president AIF, Roger Sherman, chairman AIF, Burt Wolfe, General Electric.

But ultimately, Wolfe said, the export program's prosperity depends on a "strong, publicly supported nuclear power program" at home.

Streamlining licensing.

Yet a vital industry at home is unlikely, industry sources concede, without changes in plant licensing and siting procedures. From the date of order, reactors now take from nine to 12 years to come on line. By intervening at various stages in the licensing cycle to protest plant locations or force safety modifications, anti-nuclear lawyers have made nuclear plant construction slower and more costly, especially with inflation and rising interest charges.

Utilities have understandably become reluctant to order nuclear plants under such conditions, although the vast majority of them strongly favor nuclear development. Reactor manufacturers and utilities alike favor a "streamlined" licensing process to reduce delivery time for reactors, curtail opportunities for intervention, and standardize plant designs, thereby avoiding expensive safety modifications of plants already under construction. A bill to do this is expected to be introduced in the new Congress in January.

Like defense industry representatives, new AIF chairman Robert Sherman linked the resolution of the nuclear waste disposal problem with the "national welfare." He urged President Carter to tell the public that a solution to the storage problem of nuclear wastes, which remains fatally radioactive for thousands of years, is seen by industry sources as a top priority in gaining public acceptance of nuclear power.

The industry's failure to pull out the stops to persuade the public of the need for nuclear power was held partly responsible for the present mess by Dr. Joseph M. Hendrie, an official charged with regulating nuclear power. Hendrie told the ANS conference, "Up to a year ago, I was in the private sector. Now I'm in a more neutral role. You who remain in the private sector know the truth about nuclear power. And if nuclear is to succeed, you must begin to communicate this truth thoroughly and vigorously, or risk losing out to its opponents."

Although backed into a corner, the nuclear companies are not ready to run up the white flag. Supremely convinced of nuclear power's desirability and their duty to develop it, and mindful of nuclear's promise of plumper corporate pocketbooks, the industry appears ready to come out with both guns blazing.

Llewellyn King, publisher of *Energy Daily*, urged the industry vigorously to attack nuclear opponents and generally to take the offensive in explaining to the public the necessity for nuclear power. The "great bellow of rage" advocated by King serves notice that the wounded industry has only just begun to fight.

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IN THE NATION

Make
Carter



More guns, less butter, Carter promises

By David Moberg

OVER A DECADE AGO, AS HE was stepping up U.S. warfare in Vietnam, Lyndon Johnson kept his faith in the corporate liberal gospel that had dominated politics since the end of World War II. The vast, expanding U.S. economy could support empire abroad and improved living standards at home, he believed, a giant "peacetime" military and expanded government social welfare programs, guns and butter.

Times have changed. Johnson's effort not only ended in U.S. defeat in Vietnam but also catalyzed the calamity of high unemployment, high inflation and declining international economic power that has plagued the country through most of the '70s.

As heir to the economic mess but to little of the liberalism once claimed by the Democratic Party, Jimmy Carter has a new proposal for America: more guns, less butter.

Carter has promised to increase the military budget for fiscal year 1980, which begins Oct. 1, 1979, by 3 percent over the expected rate of inflation. At the same time, as part of his strategy for reducing inflation and strengthening the dollar on international money markets he has committed himself to reducing the 1980 federal deficit to under \$30 billion, down from an anticipated \$39 billion this year. Since tax increases have been ruled out because of the current political mood, that means something must be cut, reportedly by about \$15 billion. The "somethings" include programs for jobs, medical care, education, housing, environmental protection, disability payments, urban problems and other domestic needs, according to preliminary reports.

"This is a real guns and butter issue," an adviser on military issues to liberal members of Congress says. "In the past, you could say it was a moral issue. Now it's a clear economic and political issue." Carter's military spending reflects a commitment to long-established bipartisan foreign policy aims and the arms spending to support them. Yet in these leaner, tougher times, that requires austerity at home and a disengagement from the diffuse New Deal consensus politics of the past four decades. Carter has apparently decided that the liberal wing of his party is too weak to challenge him and that, judging from the polls and street reaction, it is politically wise to follow the path of Am-

erican political debate farther right.

Budget director James T. McIntyre Jr., the *New York Times* reports, is arguing for applying some of the budgetary discipline to the military as well to make the social program cuts a tiny bit shallower and more palatable. Yet even a shift of one or two billion dollars would do little to counter the ill effects of Carter's probable budget, especially if the recession likely to be precipitated by his anti-inflation and save-the-dollar programs materializes later next year. If the 1980 budget actually submitted in January follows lines suggested now, it would—compared to a budget with more social and less military spending—generate fewer jobs, reduce people's protection from recession, fail to provide the aid hard-pressed cities will need and—on top of all that—increase inflation.

Disaster.

"The whole thing is shaping up as a disaster," a top labor lobbyist in Washington lamented, agreeing that Carter's budget was looking more and more like Gerry Ford's.

The budget is still in preparation and many of the current reports may be the usual trial balloons. Thus, the absence so far of a barrage of arrows from Carter's left undoubtedly gives the administration encouragement in its plans. Here, based on newspaper accounts, some official comments and varied Washington rumors, is how the budget proposals are shaping up:

For the military, Carter's promise of 3 percent real growth in outlays would raise their 1980 budget to around \$123.8 billion from the 1979 allocation of \$112 billion. (Since total authorization voted is always greater than annual outlay, a 3 percent growth of that figure would mean an increase from \$126 to \$139 billion.) That will pay for about 275 new

fighters of various sorts, 145 new helicopters for European-based troops, a new aircraft carrier and other hardware.

In addition, Carter will ask Congress for a \$2.2 billion supplement to the 1979 military budget, nearly a quarter of which would go toward development of a new, longer-range submarine missile (Trident 2) and a new, land-based missile, known as MX (experimental missile). The MX missile will not have a stationary site. Instead, it will be shifted around, either in different ground sites or—as a Presidential science panel recommended last week—on airplanes that would land in order to launch them. Besides setting the U.S. on a course that will cost at least \$30 billion, commitment to MX deployment will disrupt arms limitation talks. Numbers of such mobile missiles are almost impossible to verify.

Carter has also revived the long-dormant civil defense program by proposing a new plan to evacuate cities and give special protection to government officials in the event of a nuclear attack. That will cost \$2 billion over five years, more than doubling the annual expenditure.

Cutbacks.

In order to accommodate the military increases, Carter is reportedly planning to cut back \$1.5 billion on spending for public service jobs, mainly in cities (providing 550,000 jobs in 1980 compared with 725,000 in 1979), even though one of the major planks in Carter's urban program announced earlier this year was expanded public service employment. There will be cutbacks in low-income housing support, reportedly as much as one-fourth of the Section 8 subsidy program, student loans, aid to primary and secondary education, sewer improvements financed through the Environmental Protection Agency and local law enforcement aid.

Some plan will probably be offered for

savings on Medicare and Medicaid by increasing the deductible level or co-payments by recipients. Also, the potential level of benefits under the social security disability program will be reduced, probably to a maximum of 80 percent of previous earnings. Eligibility standards would also be tightened. Together, administration officials conclude, such changes could save the federal government \$2 billion a year by the mid-1980s. Job training, CETA, workmen's compensation and other domestic programs will be cut—as well as foreign aid. Carter will seriously retreat on his proposal for welfare reform. Having already set a 5.5 percent lid on federal workers' pay increases, he also plans to introduce several changes in pay practices that will significantly lower both white and blue-collar incomes.

There is obviously no room for significant innovations, such as national health insurance, in such a budget.

Carter's commitment to increased military spending stems from a variety of pressures that have arisen as the U.S. attempts to preserve its basic postwar foreign policy of "containment" of Communism. That is interpreted to mean that the U.S. has a national interest in maintaining the political status quo in nearly every part of the world outside the Warsaw pact, now apparently even including China.

After a decade of preoccupation with the Pacific Rim, attention has turned to Europe. NATO ground forces had long been neglected in favor of reliance on a "nuclear umbrella," but Soviet advances in nuclear capability have made such an umbrella very leaky. Also, while the U.S. was pouring billions down the Vietnam rat-hole, the Soviet Union was improving the quality of its European forces. Consequently, there was a new justification available for the Pentagon's unquenchable thirst for new weapons as the military budget—calculated as a percentage of the gross national product—declined after the Vietnam war.

Rather than rebuild NATO on its own, the U.S. exacted an agreement from its allies last May that all NATO members enlarge their military by 3 percent above inflation each year—a figure that had already been proposed in the Pentagon's five-year plan.

Real motives.

But the more fundamental reasons for increasing military spending have virtually nothing to do with such technical military considerations. Indeed, there are

Continued on page 7.

Once a moral issue, more guns now means less for education, health care, mass transit, housing, environmental protection and other social needs.

HAZARDS

Asbestos companies flee controls

By Beth Bogart

WASHINGTON

FIVE YEARS AGO, AMATAX CORP. closed its new asbestos yarn mill in Milford Square, Pa., and began importing asbestos textiles from its two plants just over the Mexican border.

That switch had little to do with cheap labor, tax havens, or currency fluctuations. Mexico has no specific regulations to protect its workers from the particles created by asbestos manufacturing, one of the deadliest occupational hazards known. The Amatax plants in Mexico do not have what the company's defunct Pennsylvania shop was required by law to have: dust controls in the most toxic work areas, constant monitoring of dust levels, and warnings to all employees that prolonged breathing of asbestos particles can kill.

Barry Castleman, an authority on the export of hazardous jobs to developing countries, was blunt: "You won't be sued for accusing Amatax for murder," he told a seminar here sponsored by Environmentalists for Full Employment.

Amatax is just one example of "run-away hazardous shops" that are today leaving the U.S. in search of less restrictive environmental and workplace standards. This problem, and possible solutions, were debated at a day-long seminar Oct. 20 by Castleman, who recently completed the first comprehensive analysis of hazard exports, Richard Barnett, author of *Global Reach* and co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., and Elizabeth Janger, an AFL-CIO researcher who specializes in the export of jobs.

The U.S. government, Janger said, collects "very little data about job exports—and the data it does collect is compiled with a view to disproving" that American companies are moving jobs abroad. "But now we can prove our case; even with the government's data," she said, citing the latest Commerce Department statistics, which show U.S. subsidiaries abroad making as much as domestic companies.

"We're just beginning to get wind of how big the export of jobs" is, particularly to developing countries where workplace standards are almost nonexistent, she said.

The export of hazards from the U.S. to developing countries is likely to increase, Castleman agreed, and "U.S. pollution control laws may soon lead to wholesale exodus in major industries."

Like Janger, Castleman criticized government data on job exports as sketchy and confusing, which is why he dedicated three years to tracking them plant-by-plant. His well-documented report, "The Export of Hazardous Factories to Developing Nations," funded by unions and environmental groups, was published in the *Congressional Record* June 29 and could lead to congressional hearings next session.

Multinational companies use a "double standard," Castleman said. They comply with Occupational Safety and Health Act regulations for their American plants, but get away "with whatever they can" in foreign countries. Asbestos textiles currently exhibit the strongest "pattern of flight" to developing countries, according to Castleman, but zinc, arsenic and copper smelting, mercury mining, benzidine dye manufacturing, and pesticide production are also being exported.

The speakers disagreed about a U.S.-based multinationals responsibility for working conditions in its foreign plants. Barnett and Castleman said a company is virtually omnipotent in its dealings with American communities and foreign governments.

"A multinational corporation is mobile, it can move around the world with

ease, thus causing a serious deterioration in the bargaining power of those charged with protecting the environment" and workers' health, Barnett said.

Janger disagreed and said many foreign governments, "especially those with centrally planned economies, now dominate most decisions of U.S. multinationals."

"At the heart of the problem," Barnett said, "is our peculiar system of accounting that says an international corporation, even if it's larger than 15 countries, is private property, subject to basically the same laws as a corner drugstore."

Barnett suggested changing national law so that such companies could not move whenever they find it convenient. The nature of growth, the meaning of

efficiency and the right of a corporation to develop clearly destructive technology must also be questioned, he said.

The AFL-CIO is not as interested in new legislation, said Janger, as in "enforcing what we've got," for example, the law forbidding the import of "anything made by forced labor."

Finally, there is the Carter administration's approach based on reforming international trade agreements to reflect differing environmental and workplace standards among nations. An interagency task force is currently gathering information on the handling of toxic substances for use by the President's Special Trade Representative, Robert S. Strauss, at the ongoing General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) meeting in Geneva.

The Scandinavian delegation put the subject of hazard exports on the GATT agenda.

Strauss cautioned that the problem is not an easy one, as it may be mistaken for protectionism and as other countries will not welcome the topic because it bears directly on their internal standards. However, he said, "American standards in these areas are among the highest in the world and we do not want this U.S. willingness to protect the environment and our workers to disadvantage the various U.S. producers willing to pay such costs."

Copies of Castleman's study are available at the Natural Resources Defense Council, 917 15th St., NW, Washington, DC 20005.



Betty Nicholaus and her son, Eddie, who is a student at P.S. 185-208.

Karen Mantlo

Asbestos closes N.Y. schools

By Ellen S. Freilich

AMISCHIEVOUS SMILE FOUND its way across Eddie Nicholaus' face as the Harlem third-grader said that he didn't mind being out of class. But Eddie's mother assured him, and me, that Eddie was just kidding, that he really missed school.

Third graders may enjoy unexpected vacations but the parents of 850 children attending Eddie's school, P.S. 185-208, are less than enamored with them. Since Halloween, the school has been shut because loose asbestos material was creating a health hazard there.

Anthony Smith, executive director of the New York City Board of Education's Buildings Division, said repair work at P.S. 185-208 would take some 100 days and could begin in early December. The Board of Education will waive competitive bidding on contractual work to save time. The work will include replacing the school's ceiling structures, removing lighting fixtures and acoustical tiles, and replacing electrical wiring.

The only question that remains concerning the repair work, explains Smith, is whether to remove asbestos fire retardant from the school's steel beams and replace it with a non-asbestos material or to coat the existing fireproofing with a sealant to prevent the material from being dislodged.

Mount Sinai Hospital's department of community medicine took air samplings

Since Halloween P.S. 185-208 has been shut because of high levels of asbestos dust in the air.

at the two schools and found that asbestos levels in five areas of the school ranged from 30 to 140 nanograms per cubic meter of air. A nanogram is one billionth of a gram.

Smith said the level on the street, where asbestos enters the air when cars brake,

is 50 nanograms per cubic meter of air. Levels in homes of asbestos workers can reach as high as 5,000 nanograms.

The potential asbestos hazard in the schools has received wide publicity here over the last three weeks. On Friday, the *New York Post* reported that at least half the hundreds of high-rise office buildings constructed in the city between the early 1950s and 1970 pose the risk of asbestos contamination. And the Board of Education is in the process of inspecting 240 schools built between 1960 and 1971 when asbestos may have been used in construction.

But the Board also says that undisturbed asbestos poses no immediate hazard and outspoken Democrat councilwoman Ruth Messinger says she feels "a real effort" is being made both to find classroom space for the children whose school has been shut down and to begin appropriate repair work.

Diane Morales, chairwoman of the community school board that governs P.S. 185-208, says she expects to have the displaced students assigned to classrooms in other schools by Thanksgiving.

PARADISE LOST



Paper cups of cyanide-laced soft drinks and syringes used to spray poison down children's throats at Jonestown, Guyana, site of mass suicide.

From 'left' politics to mass suicide

By Larry Remer

SAN FRANCISCO

INFATUATION WITH PERSONAL power and the unchecked growth of the cult of personality are what transformed Rev. Jim Jones and his People's Temple followers from a burgeoning progressive force into a bizarre death cult.

Even as news from Guyana—4000 miles away—reached the Bay Area last week, local politicians and elected officials at every level were dazed and bewildered as to how one of San Francisco's most powerful behind-the-scenes political figures could have led his followers down such a deadly path.

The enormity of the tragedy is shocking. After a visit to Jonestown, the remote jungle village where Jones and 1200 people settled last year in search of a better life, Rep. Leo Ryan (D-San Mateo) and three newsmen were ambushed and killed as they waited to board a plane in a clearing near the village. Ryan was investigating reports that residents of Jonestown were being physically mistreated by Jones and his lieutenants, with many being held against their will. After the ambush, Jones and 400 of his followers committed mass suicide in the middle of the encampment, fulfilling a Jones pledge that when his temple became endangered all its members would kill their children and themselves.

Once a bulwark of San Francisco's progressive forces, Jones preached a mixture of populism and fundamentalist Christianity and built a broad base of black working class and left-leaning white support. Jones' attraction was his dedication to bridging the gap between espousal of Christian love for all people and the need to engage in political action. While he railed against the unequal distribution of wealth, Jones also urged his followers to organize food coops, tenants unions, and community organizations to wrest power from the capitalist establishment.

A spellbinding orator and dynamic or-

ganizer, Jones built People's Temple into a congregation of several thousand with, more ominously, several hundred people personally devoted to him.

"If there's a God in heaven, why is there poverty on this earth?" an emotion-laden Jones once sermonized to his overflowing temple.

"Amen," his congregants responded. "If there's a God in heaven," Jones continued, "why is there hunger on this earth?"

"Amen," was the response.

Jones then listed a litany of contemporary social and economic ills, only to conclude, "If these things all exist, then—brothers and sisters—there must be no God!"

"Amen! Amen!" was the enthusiastic reply.

But the key to Jones' political influence came from his willingness to mobilize People's Temple on behalf of various political candidates. In nearly every election in this decade, People's Temple has provided foot-soldiers for liberal and Democratic candidates. Jones and his followers have been wooed by every left-of-center politician to campaign in San Francisco, including San Francisco mayor George Moscone, California governor Jerry Brown, U.S. Senate candidate Tom Hayden, State Assemblyman Willie Brown, and—during the '76 presidential campaign—Rosalyn Carter on behalf of her husband, Jimmy.

Mayor Moscone was so pleased with Jones' efforts on his behalf that he made Jones chair of the city's Housing Authority. Rosalyn Carter wrote Jones a letter that he gave the government of Guyana when he began negotiations to start his settlement there. And Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally—a longtime Jones stalwart who visited Jonestown early this year—looked the other way when former People's Temple members approached him last year to complain of mistreatment.

Though Jones professed to be a Marxist, in practice he was an authoritarian demagogue. Former People's Temple members tell of beatings and torture per-

sonally administered by Jones to keep disobedient members in line. Others recall how Jones would gather his flock of more than 100, pass out a dry-tasting colored liquid for everyone to drink, and then tell them that they'd all just drunk poison and had 45 minutes to live.

It was a process not dissimilar from other cults like the Hare Krishna and the Scientologists wherein newly initiated members are slowly brainwashed into acceptance of the cult as a substitute for their family and obedience to its leader—in this case Jones—as an all-powerful father-substitute. Jones played on the insecurities of his followers, demanding that they accept his word as law and that they pledge all of their worldly possessions—often their welfare checks and occasionally their homes and cars—to the People's Temple. He also demanded—and received—sexual favors from his female followers, whether married or not, as part of their fealty to him and the People's Temple.

Most importantly, several former Jones followers report that he began to see himself as playing a central role in human history—that he talked in messianic terms. They say that Jones frequently likened himself to Jesus and Buddha, as well as to Malcolm X and Che Guevara.

When several official investigations into Jones began in the summer of 1977, he abruptly resigned from the Housing Authority and left for the tropics of Guyana to begin construction of Jonestown.

Jones had beaten back earlier efforts to investigate allegations of mistreatment through his political connections. After a 1976 expose in *New West*, articles quoting former followers began appearing in many places. Jones solicited endorsements in the form of open letters from then-Lt. Gov. Dymally, Assemblyman Brown, and Assemblyman Art Agnos, which Jones ran as advertisements in the *Sun-Reporter*, an influential San Francisco black newspaper.

When the Los Angeles District Attorney's office initiated a forgery investigation into People's Temple activities in

that city, Jones arranged for a barrage of mail in protest. "Certain politicians are in close contact with Rev. Jones," a D.A.'s source has told reporters. "He delivers large blocs of votes. Our investigation is not getting to first base..."

In any event, Jones stuck in liberal and radical circles remained high. He retained as his attorneys the noted defense lawyer Charles Garry, and the assassination conspiracy theorist Mark Lane. Both Lane and Garry were on hand in Guyana during the tragedy. Afterwards, they stated that they'd been unaware of the brutality and had hoped to influence Jones to open up Jonestown to press coverage and outside scrutiny as a way of dispelling the worst of the rumors and of forcing a clean-up of real problems.

But allegations of mistreatment persisted, leading Rep. Ryan to undertake his fateful visit to Jonestown. Accompanied by reporters who were putting together exposes on Jones, Ryan, shortly before his death, stated he had "mixed" feelings about the settlement.

He had found a large number of people living happily in an egalitarian, agrarian setting. But he'd also found several among them who wanted to leave—and who claimed that Jones wouldn't let them.

Of Jones himself, at first they found a gracious host, eager to show off his town. But after a Jones supporter lunged at Ryan with a knife—only to be prevented from killing the Congressman by Mark Lane's quick action—Jones' mood changed. He became morose, survivors have reported, and began to take heavy doses of medication, which he said he needed for a variety of ailments. "Jones struck us as a madman," declared one reporter who made it out.

Confronted with a note asking for permission to leave from 20 Jonestowners, Jones reluctantly agreed to permit Ryan to take them with him. In doing so, Jones signed the death warrant for Ryan, the newsmen, and 400 of the faithful. He could not—and would not—permit the outside world to learn the truth. The orgy of death followed.

U.S. INTERVENTION

Wilmington 10 trial called unfair

By Bob McMahon

RALEIGH, N.C.

THE U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, in a move a spokesman called "unprecedented," intervened Nov. 14 in the North Carolina civil rights trial of the Wilmington 10.

On that day lawyers for the Justice Department filed a friend of the court brief in U.S. District Court in Raleigh contending the Wilmington 10 trial "lacked fundamental fairness."

The move climaxed two years of investigation by the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department into the controversial case, which has been the focus of considerable pressure domestically and an embarrassment to Carter's "human rights" criticisms of the Soviets.

James Fuller, a lawyer for the defendants, suggested that the federal move will have substantial impact. "An independent review by an independent agency whose job it is to protect justice reached the same conclusions we have—that basically the trial was not fair," Fuller said.

The Justice Department torpedoed a carefully-crafted strategy by North Carolina Gov. James Hunt to rid himself of the embarrassment the case has caused him.

Hunt came under sharp pressure from right and left over whether he should act on the case after North Carolina courts refused to overturn the 1972 firebombing convictions of the civil rights activists, despite the fact that the three key witnesses against them had recanted.

On Jan. 23, 1978, Hunt responded in a televised address by declining to admit any problems with their trial, but reducing the lengths of their sentences.

Initial reaction to Hunt's decision from Wilmington 10 supporters was sharply hostile, culminating by a march by 3000 on the state capitol in April. But throughout this year, as shortened sentences made members of the Ten eligible for parole, they were released promptly, and interest in the case began to decline.

Today, only Rev. Ben Chavis, who will be eligible for parole in January 1980, remains in prison.

It seemed that Hunt had found a way to make the Wilmington 10 quietly go away well before he runs for re-election in 1980. Now, with federal action making

the Wilmington 10 once more a highly visible and explosive issue, Hunt professes himself "perplexed" by the Justice Department move.

The core of the Justice Department brief is that the lawyers for the Wilmington 10 were unable effectively to cross-examine the key prosecution witness, Allen Hall, who may have lied under oath.

At the trial, Hall was questioned repeatedly about important inconsistencies between his testimony on the stand and a sworn statement he had given prosecutor Jay Stroud on Feb. 18, 1972.

"Hall admitted to at least 14 inconsistencies between his trial testimony and his earlier sworn statement," the Justice Department noted.

At the trial, Hall explained these inconsistencies by referring to an "amended statement"—corrections he had dictated to Stroud on Feb. 18.

When the defense asked for a copy of this statement, Stroud claimed all that existed were his own notes on trial strategy. Trial judge Robert Martin upheld Stroud's claim he need not give the defense these notes.

Unlike the lawyers for the Wilmington 10, the Justice Department was able to review this "amended statement." Their conclusion was that the contents "raise the question with regard to at least seven controversial areas of testimony, whether Hall was lying when he testified at the trial."

The federal brief also suggests that if Hall was lying, "and Stroud knew or should have known he was lying, then the prosecutor should have disclosed the statement so as to avoid participating in the knowing use of perjured testimony."

Strong described the federal action as "much ado about nothing. It's just being perverted and slanted. They were dealt with fairly and tried fairly, and that's all there is to it." He charged the federal intervention was a response to political pressure from "the Black Congressional Caucus."

The federal brief now goes before federal judge Franklin Dupree, who has before him two requests for a new trial filed by the Wilmington 10.

Dupree, a conservative Republican appointed by Richard Nixon, is expected to take several months to study the Justice Department's brief before deciding what—if any—action to take in response. ■



Carleton College students at one of the anti-apartheid meetings that sparked a successful South Africa divestment campaign.

Carleton College students win South Africa divestiture

By Paul Wellstone

STUDENT ACTIVISTS AT CARLETON College at Northfield, Minnesota, have won a year-long fight to pull the liberal arts school's investments out of banks and corporations that support the white racist regime in South Africa.

The Carleton board of trustees, threatened with civil disobedience and pressured by a petition signed by more than 1,200 of the 1,800 students and faculty at Carleton, agreed in October to divest their holdings in pro-South African firms on a case by case basis.

With one-third of its portfolio tied up in institutions and businesses friendly to the apartheid government, Carleton trustee Thomas Morgan called the decision "the most radical investment policy of any U.S. college that has anything to lose."

Carleton's Political Action Committee (CPAC) organized protest included a door-to-door campaign and marches in sub-zero weather as well as a sit-in at a trustee meeting.

Prime targets for divestment include Mobil Oil, International Business Machines, Manufacturers Hanover and Bankers Trust.

CPAC is still concerned, however, about the trustees' move to make what they call a "clean slate" of students to review the investment portfolio.

CPAC member Peter Dross said what the school officials call a clean slate is actually a means to get rid of activists—including himself—who were instrumental in the protest.

But despite the threat of back-pedaling, CPAC member Jeff Stovall said "most students were cynical."

"We were told that the activism of the '60s accomplished nothing. We always heard about the new conservatism," Stovall said. "We felt isolated, like there were not any radicals left today. Then we realized that we are the radicals today."

The fight for divestment at Carleton began with a small group of students—precipitated by the death of Steve Biko at the hands of South African police in September of 1977.

Carleton students had already heard a speech by black South African leader Khotso Seatlholo in May of that year after the rebellions in the officially segregated township of Soweto.

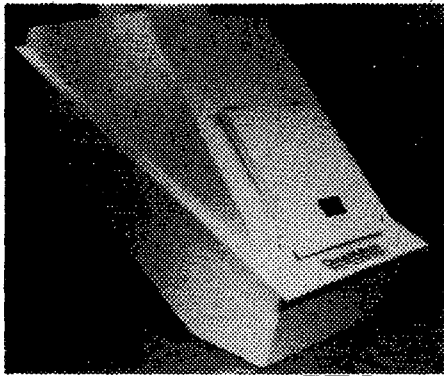
An eleventh-hour appeal during a lull in the on-going protest came from Donald Woods, exiled journalist and author of the biography *Biko*. ■

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PENSION FUNDS

Teamsters renege on Brewers' pact

By Alan Barnes

NEW YORK

THE EIGHT TRUSTEES OF THE New York Teamster Conference Pension and Retirement Fund were ordered to jail here late last month for their failure to comply with the terms of a 1973 merger with the Pension Fund of the New York Brewery Workers. The decision of the state Supreme Court marked a victory for the mostly-retired brewery workers in their five-year legal battle to sustain the viability of their pensions, following the mid-1970s collapse of the brewing industry in New York.

But despite the ruling and the vindication of the merger in every court and government agency involved in the dispute, the trustees of the \$150 million Teamster Fund have continued to renege on an agreement made to protect the pensions of the former CIO Brewers who affiliated with the Teamsters in the early 1950s. And, though attorneys for the Brewers, Philip Sipser and Susan Martin, (who have fought the case practically without remuneration, in marked contrast to the various well-heeled law firms employed by the Teamster Fund), are optimistic, unremitting Teamster resistance promises an additional two years of uncertainty for men whose livelihood is largely comprised of the pensions.

The case raises further questions about the Trustees of the Teamster Conference Fund, who are the focus of several investigations for criminal violations in administration of funds.

When the Teamster Trustees accepted a Brewery Workers' proposal to combine pension funds in 1973, the Brewery Fund held an estimated \$35 million to \$40 million in assets. From a high point of 26 breweries in the New York City area at the end of the 1950s, the industry had been reduced to two breweries owned by Rheingold and the F&M Schaeffer Co.

The Brewery Workers' Trustees saw the merger as a way to assure the pensions of some 5,000 active brewers and beer-truck drivers. Combined, they felt, the funds could be managed more effectively, and the enormous "umbrella" of the Teamster Fund would provide "insurance" in the event of an unexpected, though conceivable, "catastrophe" for the remainder of the industry.

For the Teamster Trustees, the merger meant an almost 25 percent increase in the assets under their control. While they also assumed the obligation of an additional \$5 to \$6 million annually in brewers' pension payments, continuing employer contributions of almost \$4 million were anticipated.

But shortly after the agreement was signed, "catastrophe" did occur; the Rheingold Co. announced its intention to shut down.

As Brewery Workers representatives frantically negotiated with management to maintain the brewery, at least until a buyer could be found, most of the 1,500 men whose jobs were threatened braved mid-winter weather and risked arrest to occupy the plant, in a successful effort to prevent the company from dumping millions of gallons of beer.

Under intense public pressure, Rheingold relented, and in a short time the Check Full O' Nuts Corporation was induced to pick up the Brooklyn brewery.

But the price of keeping the brewery open was high. Negotiations with the new owner resulted in an almost 40 percent reduction in workforce, accompanied by concessions on job status and work loads, and drastic reductions in medical benefits and pension fund contributions.

Seeing an opportunity, Schaeffer, too, made similar demands to secure its operation, and received similar concessions.

Despite a string of court victories, the Brewers have been unable to get their pensions.

At this point, in early 1974, the Teamster Fund Trustees repudiated the merger-agreement, citing the near-closings as signs that the industry was "doomed." They refused to accept the assets of the Brewery Workers' Fund or to perform the other obligations of the agreement, including the last and crucial step in such and action, an application for IRS approval.

The Brewers then sued the Teamster Fund for compliance, and won the initial suit as well as a host of Teamster appeals, filed over the course of two years.

But the Teamsters continued to resist, so, in March, 1976, the Brewery Fund Trustees applied with the IRS for approval on their own. There, too, the merger was upheld.

Meanwhile, the Teamster Fund sought intervention by the PBGC, (the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation), a non-profit, government insurance corporation created by the Congressional pension-reform law known as ERISA, (the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974). The PBGC is supposed to assure the uninterrupted payment of basic pension payments to participants in pension plans that fail. The Teamsters argued that reduced employer contributions to the Brewery Workers' Fund caused a "partial termination" of the plan; thus, the PBGC, and not the Teamsters, should assume responsibility for the brewers' pensions.

But the PBGC would provide significantly smaller pension payments, so the Brewery Fund Trustees opposed the Teamster request.

The PBGC, not favorably disposed to assuming responsibility of one of the wealthiest pension fund amalgamations in the country ruled that there were no grounds to intervene. Victorious, the Trustees of the Brewery Workers' Fund resigned their positions at the end of 1976 and assigned their assets to the Teamster Fund. The Teamster Trustees again refused to accept them. Instead, they organized a new round of lawsuits, directed at the PBGC, the Brewers' Fund, and one complaint, ostensibly from Teamster members, aimed at enjoining the merger as harmful to Teamster pensioners. The suits were dismissed.

As the Teamster Trustees still refused to cooperate, the Brewers returned to court for an additional enforcement order to comply. The Teamsters appealed the order and every other decision and lost every appeal. Their continued non-compliance resulted in a \$250 fine for contempt and the threat of imprisonment if they continued to resist.

More delay.

Finally, in November 1977, the Teamster Fund Trustees accepted control of the Brewery Fund's assets. However, they failed to combine the funds and did not fulfill several requirements of the merger, including proper notification of pensioned brewers of their options under the merger-agreement. Furthermore, they asked that the IRS rescind its approval of the merger.

The Brewers' attorneys had that request enjoined while they secured a number of contempt citations, which lead to the recent order for the Teamster Trustees' arrest. Following that decision, the IRS notified the attorneys that its approval of the merger would stand. But both decisions again permitted the Teamsters a



"reasonable" amount of time to comply, leaving the question of actual imprisonment open and allowing the possibility of further Teamster delays of up to two years.

Teamster Fund officials have already expressed their continued opposition to the merger.

In the meantime, from 1973 until 1976, the number of brewery workers dropped by about 2,000, and in 1976 employer contributions and brewery employment virtually ceased when both the remaining breweries closed down for good.

The result, at least according to Team-

ster figures, (they now possess all the Brewery Fund records), has been an almost complete depletion of the \$35 million fund.

The Teamsters cited the drop in funds to support their request that the IRS rescind its approval of the merger as harmful to the health of their own fund.

And that is where matters now stand. The Brewers are clearly entitled to their pensions, but the Teamster Pension fund administrators seem able to delay payments indefinitely.

Alan Barnes is a free-lance writer in New York.

Guns instead of butter

Continued from page 3.

several proposals—such as one offered by a Boston Study Group of physical and political scientists in the October *Scientific American*—that demonstrate precisely how the U.S. military budget could be cut by at least 40 percent or \$50 billion a year and still provide at least as much, perhaps more, security than the current budget. All such proposals, however, rest on revision of some basic assumptions of American foreign policy and related military shibboleths, such as the doctrine that the U.S. must maintain "essential equivalence" of weapons with the Soviet Union. "Cutting the defense budget is not a matter of cutting fat," Banning Garrett, military and strategic affairs editor of *Internews*, says, "but of foreign policy goals and the military goals that follow."

Perhaps the most basic rationale for spending more money on the military is "to create political perceptions abroad about American will power," a military analyst explains. "It's to give signals to the Russians, show resolve and all that sort of thing," Earl Ravenal, an Institute for Policy Studies fellow and former Defense Department analyst, says. "It's crazy, but it's a real motive."

In the same way, Ravenal suggests, the increased spending helps to "get NATO allies in line." Other analysts agree that building up NATO is important to the U.S. less as a defense against Soviet military attack and more as a defense against increasing leftist political influence. Soviet scares and NATO strengthening increases the power of conservative political parties in Europe and dependence of western Europe on the U.S.

There is a preoccupation with the threat of "Finlandization"—the imagined loss of political independence of European countries if Soviet influence grows. Now that the U.S. is proposing that NATO's sphere of influence extend to the Persian Gulf and parts of Africa, the increased expenditures are intended to show "resolve" in these areas as well.

Domestically, the increased spending

is intended to appease the military and the hawks in Congress so that they will not destroy any new Strategic Arms Limitation agreement. But critics of the military expenditures argue that Carter is conceding more in order to get SALT 2 than the treaty itself is likely to bring in halting the arms race.

Unfortunately, foreign policy setbacks in recent years have created a more powerful constituency in support of the military. Liberals, always divided on the merits of a bigger military, are even less vocal as critics of defense budgets. Ravenal hopes that Congress may engage in "serious debate this year, because the defense budget will be seen as a trade-off with domestic programs, inflation and taxes. It's a lean time. We can't have everything—guns, butter, fiscal integrity, reasonable taxes." But for intelligent debate to take place, longtime assumptions about foreign policy—one of the least debated subjects in U.S. politics—will have to be challenged.

So far there is little sign of that debate emerging. If military critics, such as the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, and the wide range of groups and institutions to be gored by the domestic budget cuts—unions, poor people, city governments, schools, and many others—could unite behind a common policy, then there would be a chance for a fundamental confrontation on the direction of the U.S. at home and abroad in the coming years. Preliminary skirmishes may take place at the Democrats' mid-term convention in early December and in jockeying for positions on Senate and House budget committees, both of which have lost some of their most progressive members.

However, most politicians seem to read the voters' message as "cut spending" and "keep America tough." UAW legislative director Howard Paster says, "I assume [the administration] thinks their budget is a combination of responsible economics and good politics. I think it's neither." It will take a lot of work to convince this Congress of that.

CLAMSHELLS

Protests continue at Seabrook

By Duncan Harp

SEABROOK, N. H.

ON VETERANS DAY, WHEN many Americans were laying wreaths at the graves of our war dead, veterans of another kind of struggle came to pay their respects at a different sort of monument.

As before, the Seabrook nuclear power plant was the issue. And the "mourners" were 200 members of the Clamshell Alliance, with a few others. They came to rally at the Rocks Road site entrance to New Hampshire's Public Service Co. nuclear power plant. They were there to protest PSC's continuing refusal to allow public access to disputed road property. The latest Clamshell wave action, this was the second to focus on the Rocks Road issue. In another action later that day, five Clams were assaulted as they attempted to climb a fence at PSC's dock.

Originally organized by Cape Cod Clams and set for Oct. 14, today's action was rescheduled when the Ku Klux Klan announced a Seabrook rally for that date. By this weekend, local townspeople had taken the lead in organizing the protest, and support had spread to a number of other Clam groups.

The controversy over Rocks Road originated in the town of Seabrook's 1969 decision to cede land to PSC for the nuke. At the time, PSC agreed to allow perpetual public access to all parts of the road, which leads to a popular recreation area and to ancient Indian burial grounds. The company didn't fulfill its agreement. Today Rocks Road is divided by a metal gate, and the company's construction work has desecrated the burial grounds.

The problem facing PSC is that Rocks Road runs directly through the nuke's "exclusion zone"—an area that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has made off limits for security reasons. Public access to the road might spell the end of the Seabrook project.

Townspeople recently voted to reclaim the road, and protesters had received a town parade permit to march its



The vigilantes, a motorcycle gang protecting the Ku Klux Klan at Seabrook Oct. 16.

full length. When PSC refused to open its gates today, the demonstrators rallied outside.

Residents charge that regulations were not followed in the original transfer, making the agreements invalid. A court suit is currently pressing their claim.

The day's rally was addressed by two Native Americans. One, Mohawk Bob Gustafson, told *IN THESE TIMES*, "We see this clearly as a Native issue." Asked if he thought cooperation between the Alliance and Native Americans will increase, he replied, "Absolutely, because the issue is one of survival on this planet."

Seabrook resident and longtime Clam Guy Chichester said we have to identify people "in positions of power and authority in this country, who can with a word and a signature stop this insanity. We have to find where they are and put before them the evidence of the deadly nuclear technology that is now killing people everywhere there is a facility." If, after having been informed," Chichester concluded, they "refuse to say those

words and sign the papers, we have to put the finger on them as mass murderers!"

In keeping with tradition, a PSC official videotaped the demonstrators. Outlining some of the state's harassment of Clam activists, Chichester expressed concern that, with intensified resistance, "we're going to encounter new levels of repression."

Later in the day, five Clams were physically attacked as they sought to gain entrance to PSC's fenced-in dock site. State and PSC security officials reportedly stood by and did nothing to end the assault, apparently by a construction worker who bashed demonstrators' fingers as they climbed the seven-foot high fence. The five managed to make it to the other side, although some were injured by the barbed wire atop the fence. Two Clams were taken to the hospital for treatment of minor injuries.

Clamshell reaches out.

While civil disobedience actions can be expected to continue, there is a growing

belief that the antinuke movement must broaden its limited base. The labor movement is a major target, although environmentalists have been unsuccessful in weaning domestic unions away from their generally pro-nuke positions, and Clamshell's efforts along these lines are still very much in the embryonic stage.

Connecticut Clams had some success in gaining labor support for the anti-nuke struggle, but Nancy Folbre of Clamshell's Labor Committee, could not name specific unions that the Clamshell has allied with. She told *IN THESE TIMES*, "Basically, we're just getting started to send some letters out, make some contacts..."

But Environmentalists for Full Employment has raised people's consciousness about the labor issue, she said, adding that "Labor is under pretty strong attack from the right, and is looking for allies." And labor could be "a really good ally for us."

Duncan Harp is a free-lance writer in Cambridge, Mass., and a member of the Clamshell Alliance.

Local 189, a union of teaching unionists

By Pat Strandt

TWO AUTOHARPISTS PLAYING songs commemorating Joe Hill's death 64 years earlier; new films on occupational safety and health, multinational corporations, and women's labor history; presentations by the Scientists Institute for Public Information and several similar groups, and two panels of rank-and-file labor organizers marked the Nov. 17-19 winter meeting of Workers Education Local 189 in Gary, Ind.

"Why are we in Gary?" asked Wells Keddie, the organization's first vice-president and a teacher at Livingston College, Piscataway, N.J., rhetorically. Obviously because it wasn't in anti-ERA Illinois.

Another reason, of course, is that it is in the heart of District 31 of the United Steelworkers, a maverick rank-and-file-oriented area that appeals to Local 189 members.

Local 189's devotion to the rank and file, to union activism and democracy, and to various liberal and left causes has been central since it was established by staff of Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N.Y., in 1922.

These characteristics led to the local's being thrown out of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, by AFT president Albert Shanker in 1976, after a series of bitter convention floor fights and appeals to the board over several years. Eventually, the deed was done by a constitutional change requiring multi-

state locals to be composed only of persons employed by a single employer.

The decision to continue independently may be one of the best things that has happened to Workers Education Local 189. Although anti-Local 189 persons are publishing articles calling it "moribund," the group is alive, well and growing.

When Shanker thought he was driving a stake through its heart, Local 189 had 400 members. Many of them, such as AFL-CIO legislative director Andy Biemieller, were presumably happy to get a comparatively cheap union card and a prestigious listing in the local's famous directory of members. Now, it has 178 paid-up members, most of whom fork over from \$36 to \$60 a year for voluminous mailings, twice-a-year meetings, chapter memberships, job referrals and constant reinforcement and renewal of the belief that they are on the right track. For those whose jobs take a lot of stamina and a big emotional, intellectual and physical toll, this is vital.

The conference opened with everyone taking a tour through U.S. Steel's Gary Works. Much of the weekend's program was planned by Suzanne Maffei of United Auto Workers Local 5, South Bend, whose labor-education students served as the bulk of the panelists.

These included Alice Bush of Local 1199, Gary; Oradell Harrison, Retail Clerks staff, Gary; and Al Goddard, business manager of Local 1392, IBEW, South Bend.

"You don't look like the typical IBEW business rep," someone told Goddard, whose hair is not-quite-waist-length. Goddard explained that when he was hired into the Northern Indiana/Michigan Power Co. powerhouse "I didn't look like this. If I had, I'd never have been hired."

His hair was then moderately long. Nevertheless, during his probationary period he was told to cut it, and he did. But he has never cut it again. He pursued and won a pay grievance of his own, and "they made me a steward," he reported. Sixteen victorious grievances for others later, Goddard told the group, "People said, 'Okay, we'll work with you.'"

Bush, in explaining her 11-year history as a hospital worker, told about her attempts to organize from the inside, and her failures. She described the types of help needed, which Local 189 could give. She also noted "the respect workers give you as educated persons," and suggested, "don't pretend you punch a time-clock, but give them your expertise."

Bush said that in the Gary area, "for the most part, workers organized for respect, dignity on the job, to be treated as a person.... My union will give workers one thing," she added: "education and an alternative to where they're at."

The afternoon panel, "Workers Education in Action: Making Union Democracy Work," included George Terrell of Steel Workers Fight Back, Chicago; Dan LaBotz, a member of Teamsters for a Democratic Union; Velma Lott,

member of Steel Workers Local 2697 and of USWA District 31's women's caucus and of the "40-3" (minority workers) caucus, as well as president of Northern Indiana CLUW, the Coalition of Labor Union Women; and John Bowman, walking delegate of the Eugene V. Debs Local 1834 of the Steel Workers at Pullman Standard, Steger, Ill. One of the members of the audience asked to be on the panel, and was included. He was Dan Dale, a Seafarers union member since 1969, who is also a member of the Norwegian Sailors Union, who spoke about worker education on shipboard. The panel was moderated by Betty Balanoff of Roosevelt University, and like most of the others, a Local 189 member.

Local 189's Michigan chapter, one of the most active, plans a Nov. 28 meeting at Central Methodist Church, downtown Detroit, to hear H.L. Mitchell, founder in the 1930s of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, discuss "Organizing the South: Then and Now."

Local 189's membership is open to people who are involved in workers education, which the group defines as "education carried on by, for, or with unionized or currently unorganized workers, their organizations or families, to meet learning needs at the workplace or in the community." Brochures are available from Lee Balliet, treasurer, Workers Education Local 189, Rt. 1, Box 146, Independence, W.Va. 26374.

Pat Strandt, union editor, has been a member of Local 189 for 13 years.

IN THE WORLD

NICARAGUA

Young guerillas remember screams

By Ron Ridenour

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

EARLY LAST WEEK, 43 MEMBERS of the Frente Sandinista Liberacion Nacional (FSLN) were released to fight again, and the jail guards were happy. They allowed this story to be written from inside the cooperative prison where the 43 were staying.

Costa Rica is neutral, technically, in the war between the new regular army of the FSLN and the National Guard of the Anastasio Somoza Debayle government. It periodically captures handfuls of guerilla soldiers who live in foot camps near the border.

After a few days in jail, the Sandinistas are deported to Costa Rica's southern neighbor, Panama, where the political climate is even more openly pro-Sandinista. Here, the guerillas prepare to fight a massive full-scale war.

In the *Tercera Campana Guardia Civil* in Costa Rica's capital, a dozen of the 39 men and four women gave interviews to *IN THESE TIMES*.

Always a Sandinista.

The students, small farmers and peasants and city workers are serious yet happy to be going back to battle. They are mostly youths in their teens or twenties, but some are in their forties.

"We will fight again as soon as we get back," said Javier. At 19 he has been a guerilla for three years. He commands a sophisticated view of world politics gleaned from his years of opposition to Somoza's regime.

"I became a FSLN Sandinista after the *guardia* put me on a wanted list when I was a student protestor. I have always been a Sandinista.

"We all want the same thing regardless of our political outlooks: liberty and justice. There is only one army now: Sandino's." Augusto Cesar Sandino (1895-1934) fought the U.S. Marines who ran Nicaragua directly for two decades. Somoza's family was placed in power and had Sandino assassinated.

Javier has spent half of his three years fighting in the Chinadega area, one of the bombed cities of the North, where, he says, he has killed many soldiers.

Javier has spent the other half of his time living off the land in the east of Nicaragua, near the Atlantic coast. "We eat whatever we find: pigs, birds. And the people feed us. We eat a lot of beans and rice. We are hungry much of the time. The mountains are hard to live in. We move a lot. We are constantly on guard for food and *la guardia*."

Javier and the other youths I interviewed said that their families support their decision to fight Somoza. They say that the people in Nicaragua are ready for what will come (a war is expected within weeks) because it will benefit all.

Horrendous measures.

Many in the cities I visited this month are clearly worried about losing their lives. But most seem resigned to fighting. Violent death has become daily fare. Some 20,000 lost their lives or were wounded in the two weeks of intensive fighting in September. Most of the civilians killed died of genocidal bombings and *guardia* sweeps in Esteli, Masaya, Leon, Chinadega and Matagalpa. Currently, the *guardia* rounds up scores of people in those cities and in Managua every night. Between three and ten were killed each night this reporter was there.

One of the horrendous massacres was seen by a 14-year-old masked Sandinista, interviewed in prison here.

"I fought for five days in Masaya,"



"I fought for five days in Masaya," the 14-year-old hooded Sandinista told *IN THESE TIMES*.

the thin, bronzed-skinned youth said. "On the last day the *guardia* came into houses and down the streets steadily shooting unarmed people. One patrol stopped a group of ten kids (eight to ten years old) and cut off their hands with bayonets. Twenty hands fell to the ground as the boys and girls screamed," the boy soldier said. "I'll never forget those screams." He joined the FSLN after the *guardia* killed his entire family.

Life is hard.

Carlos fought in Masaya, Leon and Matagalpa. He says he learned guerilla warfare in a church in Masaya. At 18, he has been a Sandinista fighter for three months. He joined after the *Frente* took over the National Palace Aug. 22. This act gave him confidence in the former rag-tag guerilla group.

"The priests are good people. They fight with the people and for the land," Carlos said. A chorus of enthusiastic youths joined in: "*buena gente*" (good people). Some of the new guerillas are priests or lay clergy. Most of the many hundreds who have joined since the September blood bath are practicing Catholics.

The guerillas say the people in the cities pressed the FSLN to fight. In Masaya, for instance, the battle was started with only eight guerillas and the people joined in by the thousands. The FSLN claims 400 army soldiers were killed.

Six of the guerillas in Masaya got away after the bomb attacks and before the patrols came in. They took 30 new recruits with them to the surrounding hills.

Some of the group of 43 Sandinista prisoners here were captured after attack-

ing the Nicaraguan border patrol at Penas Blancas. They escaped to a nearby camp where they slept on the ground. Some guerillas have made houses of tree branches and earth.

"Life is hard for us," said 17-year-old Ricardo. "The terrain is dangerous. We eat off the land and *la guardia*. Sometimes we get shrimp and fish, always beans and rice." This youth was the only guerilla who complained of his life. But he was quick to add that nothing guerillas had to do would dissuade him from fighting.

As the guerillas climbed aboard a Costa Rican Civil Guard bus, they yelled out their appreciation for the "good treatment" the sympathetic guards had given them. The smiles on the guards' faces confirm a problem Somoza has often expressed about his Latin neighbors. They want him overthrown.

National guard guns down civilians

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

Every night, the air explodes with the sounds of *bombas de contacto* (contact bombs), a homemade bomb of powder and rope, and shots. Every night, three to ten Nicaraguans are gunned down by Anastasio Somoza Debayle's army patrols who ferret people out of their homes and off the streets. The *guardia* responds indiscriminately to the citizenry because, as almost any civilian will tell a reporter, "The guard feels, correctly, that the entire people are the enemy."

Most of the killings are never explained by the *guardia* or are said to be legal acts committed against guerillas. But the people killed are almost always in their homes or near them as curfew laws force the people behind their doors. And most of the killed unarmed people are "suspects," the *guardia* says.

The guerillas recently reorganized into a regular army of the *Frente Sandinista Liberacion Nacional* (FSLN), announce their actions: almost daily bank robberies and attacks upon border patrols or checkpoint patrols that dot the small

nation of 2.6 million people.

For instance, on Nov. 6, the FSLN announced the following actions had been taken against the government army during the last week:

- Attack upon a patrol of 15 near the San Juan river; five were killed and several wounded;

- Three more soldiers killed in Nindirí, Masay;

- A robbery of the Nicaraguan-owned *Banco de America* (the sixth since the September war) in Managua. \$5000 was taken, and checks amounting to \$200,000;

- In La Paz Centro, where the U.S. Marines once had a military base and ruled the farm town, two more army soldiers were killed.

In Managua, Leon and other cities last week there were many other attacks by youths not in the FSLN. No one was killed as a direct result of these actions (there was little property damage done as well), but the *guardia* responded by arresting scores of citizens who claim uninvolvedness. The *guardia* attacked

youths at a Leon high school wounding several and killing a woman, 57, who was across the street standing in her doorway.

During the week, the FSLN suffered some losses as well. In San Benito and Chinadega, eight guerillas were killed by an army patrol. They were discovered in small camps near town. Some small arms were confiscated. Also, in Leon, four militant youths not connected with the FSLN were shot down at home. Many youths who survived the war in September form cells and hide in various homes. When discovered by the patrols, they are shot down without question.

The embassies of Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Panama report hundreds of exiles have poured into their buildings. They are flown to neighboring countries as soon as safe passage can be obtained. Refugees continue to flee in vehicles and on foot to the Honduran and Costa Rican borders. Some 50,000, estimated by the Red Cross, have already left the country.

—Ron Ridenour

WORLD ECONOMY

Japan won't meet U.S. trade demands

While Jimmy Carter's attempt to turn international trade negotiations into political capital may pay off this fall, the long-term results could be costly. Europe is finding political reasons of its own for wanting to buy less American goods, especially farm produce. A trade war between the U.S. and the European Common Market shouldn't be ruled out. U.S.-Japanese commercial relations are at a similar impasse.

By Bruce Vandervort

GENEVA

WHEN THE UPROAR STARTED over last year's record American trade deficit, accusing fingers were quickly pointed at Japan. In fiscal 1977, Japan posted a whopping trade surplus of \$20.33 billion, around half of it on the American market. Japanese sales in the U.S. rose by over 100 percent last year, according to figures from Tokyo.

In succeeding months, both the U.S. and the European Community weighed in with claims that Japan's trade surpluses are a major obstacle to world economic recovery. The first Japanese response was to make concessions. The much-travelled Robert Strauss, Jimmy Carter's special trade envoy, saved some American face by getting Tokyo to agree to "emergency imports"; a Common Market trade mission followed Strauss to the Japanese capital and came away with orders for a few Airbuses. Later, Japan bowed to limits on textile exports to the U.S. (no more than 1 billion square yards, the 1977 figure) and a cutback on 1978 shipments of color TV sets to 1.75 million (down from 2.34 million sets in the first half of 1977 alone).

By midsummer, however, the honeymoon was over. As the July 15 cut-off date for the Geneva Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN) and Bonn Economic Summit approached, the Japanese could see that, in spite of their concessions, they were still under the Western gun.

'It's all take.'

Already in February, trade minister Nobuhiko Ushiba had told the Harvard Club that the Europeans were "neglecting" relations with Japan and were unreliable trading partners anyway because of their "great instability" (terrorism, the Euro-communist menace). In July, the Americans became the target. Exasperated at claims from Washington that Japan was the main barrier to agreement in the MTN, Kiichi Miyazawa, Premier Takeo Fukuda's economic czar, said that the U.S. had only itself to blame for its economic woes.

Miyazawa argued that the Carter administration's failure to push an energy bill through Congress and thus curb domestic inflation was largely to blame. Without progress on energy, Carter would be going to the Bonn summit "empty-handed," he said. And as for the MTN, Strauss didn't "have anything to give," Miyazawa alleged. "It's all take."

Following suspension of the MTN in Geneva in July, amid charges of Japanese obstructionism from Strauss, Premier Fukuda surfaced in Bonn with Tokyo's "contribution" to world economic recovery. A major element would be an accelerated domestic growth rate (7 percent) in fiscal 1978. To achieve this, the government would spend \$13 billion to prime the pump and would double aid to developing countries. Growth, Fukuda said, would lead to increased imports. Most importantly, Japan's trade surplus would fall off dramatically, to only \$6 billion by the end of fiscal 1978.

It is now obvious that Fukuda's Bonn promises can't be kept—for economic and political reasons—and that his government still occupies a special place in Strauss' doghouse. In September, farm trade talks between the Americans and Japanese resumed in Washington. Ichiro

Nakagawa, Tokyo's agriculture minister, was asked to boost imports of American beef by 10,000 tons a year from now into the 1980s and to increase the intake of citrus fruits by a similar amount. Except for agreeing to let in an extra 1,000 tons of what is called "hotel quality" beef, Nakagawa said "No."

Pressure on manufacturers.

More recently, American pressure for trade concessions from Japan has switched to manufactured goods. On Oct. 2, Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps led a delegation of 140 American business representatives to Tokyo in search of orders. Among its members were officials from auto parts, computer, food processing, and general machinery firms.

The visit was described as a "litmus test" of Japanese sincerity in offering to lower trade barriers. If that was the purpose of the trip, the Japanese flunked. Few contracts were signed, causing Kreps to complain of "a historical unwillingness of the Japanese government to shoulder its responsibilities under the open trading system of which Japan has been in recent years the most conspicuous beneficiary."

What probably heightened tensions during the American trade mission was evidence that Japan's trade surplus this year will far exceed Premier Fukuda's calculations in Bonn. In August, this \$6 billion estimate was revised upward to \$13.5 billion and again in September to \$20.5 billion, or a little over the 1977 figure: The *Washington Post* recently editorialized that Japan's 1978 surplus on the U.S. market alone could reach \$14 billion—well above the 1977 figure.

Further, it is also doubtful that Japan will be able to reflate its economy as rapidly as hoped. Japanese businessmen say that Tokyo remains obsessed with inflation and therefore has been too slow in priming the pump. Recent statistics seem to bear out their view: the Japanese economy grew by only 1.1 percent in the April-June quarter of 1978.

Political obstacles.

Tokyo's inability to keep its Bonn engagements ultimately stems from the nature of the Japanese political economy, a system—it should be remembered—that successive American administrations did much to shape. The American-groomed Liberal Democratic party (LDP) gets most of its political support from big business and Japan's gerrymandered rural districts. These interests now frustrate American desires in the MTN and in private talks with the Japanese in Washington and elsewhere.

While Japan's farm population fell from 14.5 million in 1960 to 7.2 million in 1977, and its share of the national income from 10.2 percent to 5 percent, the farm lobby has kept its clout in Tokyo. With its majority in the Japanese lower house now down to one vote, the LDP cannot risk angering its rural constituents by dropping barriers to American foodstuffs. Tariffs and price supports have combined to give Japan's farmers a guaranteed home market.

Tokyo defends its frankly protectionist farm policy on the grounds that Japan, like most nations, wants security in food supplies. Japan is already too dependent on overseas farm produce, says the agriculture ministry: in 1960, Japanese production satisfied 90 percent of the country's food needs; today, the figure has slipped to 72 percent. To forestall even greater dependency, farm families must be encouraged to stay on the land and keep producing at maximum levels.

There is another, more immediate problem. Japan faces a rice glut and farmers are being asked to grow other crops. The government feels that it cannot risk heavy foreign competition on the foodstuffs market until this shift is completed.

On the industrial side, the main resistance to freer trade comes from Japan's leading multinationals, companies like

Mitsubishi and Mitsui. Although these giant manufacturing/trading combines are present on the markets of most countries, they have always considered the home turf as the vital core of their activities and use their considerable influence with LDP governments to keep foreigners out.

In addition to locking up the private consumer market, these firms also get first dibs on government purchases. State contracts aren't generally let on the basis of competitive bidding, and procurement specifications are rarely made public. IBM and Kodak learned this to their chagrin during the October trade mission to Japan, when they unsuccessfully tried to land some business with the government postal and telecommunications agency.

Social peace threatened.

In broader terms, the Japanese ruling elite clearly sees itself as put upon, being asked by Europe and the U.S. to simultaneously cut back exports and increase imports. To do this seriously threatens its time-honored formula for preserving "social peace" in Japan. Monopoly at home and the continuous growth of sales abroad have in the past provided enough trickle-down to keep the bulk of the population relatively quiet.

One has to insist on the term "relatively": whereas Japan had the second highest GNP in 1977 (\$700 billion), it ranked only 16th in the world in per capita income that year (\$6,000). The 1973-74 recession knocked a first hole in this cozy arrangement and brought on the massive trade offensive the West is now complaining so much about.

The social unrest experienced in the wake of the recession—symbolized by

the Narita airport struggle and a succession of wildcat strikes—has not completely died down. Japanese workers, whose wage hikes have been held to 5.8 percent (2 percent below the current inflation rate) this year aren't happy. For Japanese business, this is no time to talk about throttling back the growth machine.

Given all this, the Fukuda government is not in much of a position to meet American demands for more "open trading." Most observers believe that its concessions within the MTN on trade in agricultural and manufactured goods will be minimal. American Assistant Secretary of Commerce Frank Weil, who was with Juanita Kreps in Tokyo, thinks the Japanese are going to try to bluff it out. "To some extent, the Japanese think they're playing poker with us and I think that's dangerous," he said. "There is a tendency in Japan to underestimate the seriousness of the protectionist tide in the U.S."

The Japanese "bluff" may not be as ill-considered as Weil thinks. Japan's business elite appears to have at least one more card up its sleeve. Tokyo has just announced a large-scale rearmament program and there is even talk about developing "tactical" nuclear weapons. Around \$11 billion will be spent on Japanese defense needs in 1979 and further outlays are planned throughout the 1980s.

While the extent and orientation of this program is subject to constitutional restraints—offensive weapons and nuclear arms are forbidden by Japan's post-Hiroshima constitution—it promises new bonanzas for arms manufacturers at home and abroad. How will this weigh in the balance against Bob Strauss' beef and oranges?

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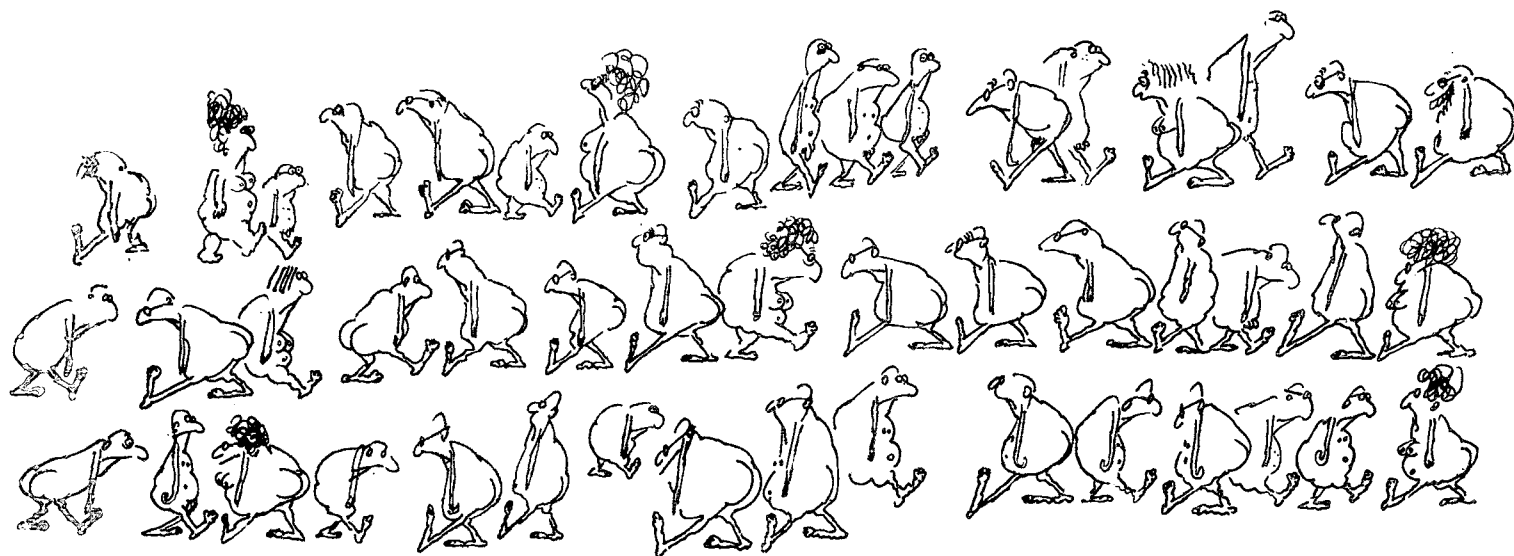
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"Hey, the people are naked."

By Judith Patarra

IN A STUNNING POLITICAL AND public relations defeat for Brazil's 15-year-old military regime and its official party, ARENA, the opposition party, MDB, won in the Nov. 15 congressional elections by over five million votes.

"Even though there was tremendous pressure and the election process was rigged," commented exile leader Leonel Brizola in New York to *In These Times*, "the people still voted against the regime and showed their determination to restore real democracy to Brazil."

Real democracy still eludes Brazilians. The current election is really the third act of a farcical drama put on by the military in an attempt to get the people to accept instead what incumbent President Gen. Ernesto Geisel calls "relative democracy."

Act I of this orchestrated drama was the "election" of the state governors, on Sept. 1. Brazil has 22 states and the same number of elected governors. Before the military coup of 1964 the governors were all elected by popular vote. After the coup the military government decided to "elect" the governors indirectly, through a controlled and intimidated congress. But by 1977 the opposition in the congress had become somewhat more daring, and even the government felt threatened. Geisel did not hesitate: in April he quickly formulated his Easter present for Brazil which became known as "the April package."

Under this package, presented in the guise of reforms, the governors were to be elected by hand-picked local city councilmen and state deputies. "What did you expect? That the reforms would help the opposition? They're for ARENA," the ARENA leader in the lower house of the national congress, Jose Bonifacio, declared.

Bionic Senators.

But the governors were not the only false bill of goods in the April package. Another provision created what Brazilians popularly call the "Bionic Senators," who now comprise one-third of the Senate and are elected by the same electoral college that elected the state governors. The military, anticipating that even under the old rigged rules it would lose a majority of the senate, thus retains control of the senate and neutralizes both opposition senators and dissidents within the government's ARENA party.

In Act II of "relative democracy," Geisel asked the ARENA-dominated

BRAZIL

Opposition outpolls government's party

congress to "elect" the man he had chosen to be the next president. Accordingly, last month the Brazilian people were told they had a new president: Gen. Joao Baptista Figueiredo, the former director of SNI, the national intelligence agency, a sort of combined FBI, CIA and press and censorship office for the government.

Act III of the farce was seemingly the most democratic: the Nov. 15 national elections for one-third of the senators, all federal deputies, and state legislatures. With the President, the state governors, and the "bionic" senators already elected, this was the only direct election in which the people participated.

Unexpected upset.

The election results are amazing—and the opposite of what the government expected. In states dominated by the patronage of the political machines, such as the impoverished north and northeast, the government party won.

But in mostly rural states beginning to industrialize, the opposition ran close races, to the great surprise and alarm of the military government. And in the industrialized and more politicized states of the south, where the majority of the population is concentrated, the victory of the opposition party, the MDB, was overwhelming.

In the state of Sao Paulo—Brazil's most populous and industrialized, opposition candidates for the senate received over five million votes, while the government candidates received slightly more than a million. Further, as a sharp protest, more than two million votes were blank and annulled in Sao Paulo state alone. (In Brazil, where voting is obligatory, the two million carried either angry or sometimes obscene denunciations against the "military dictatorship.") In the state of Rio Grande do Sul—a redoubt of opposition to the government and home of Leonel Brizola, its ex-Governor, the MDB received 1.75 million votes while the government gathered only 1.1 million.

Moreover, the opposition secured this support despite being banned from radio and television. At the same time, the two presidents (the incumbent and his successor) and 44 governors (the outgoing and the incoming) campaigned everywhere for the official candidates, with unlimited access to radio and TV.

If the law prohibits campaigning, how could they do this? Well, "public acts," interviews *a la* "Meet the Press," were permitted and incessantly used by the incumbents, while the same channels were denied the opposition.

The people, maybe.

So, if the majority voted in favor of the opposition, doesn't that mean that they elected a majority of the MDB party to congress? Not by any means. The "April package" was designed to forestall just this possibility. Another of its provisions changed the proportion between population and number of deputies, guaranteeing more deputies for the smaller and more easily-dominated states of the interior and northeast, and limiting the number of deputies in the industrialized—and more populous—states. So MDB will have 20 to 25 less seats than ARENA.

But the fact is that a significant number of people in all social classes, including many in the military, have said in these elections: "Go back to the barracks; we want democracy." This regime has left more than 45 million Brazilians in desperate poverty, earning \$80 or less per month (the minimum wage), raised the foreign debt to \$40 billion; and pushed up inflation in excess of 40 percent this year.

In today's Brazil, a worker on the minimum wage has to work 182 hours to buy food for one person for a month (in 1965, to buy the same, he had to work 87 hours per month), the infant mortality is 60 per thousand in the first year of life, and never in Brazilian history has the national income been more concentrated in the hands of a few.

It is difficult in any election to justify a regime responsible for the summary abrogation of the elected mandates and rights of citizenship of six Senators, 110 federal deputies and alternates, 161 state deputies, and 22 mayors or vice-mayors.

There also were 5,000 forced retirements or suspensions of political rights, and 47 persons "disappeared" (presumed kidnapped by the military police), 81 dead by torture, ten shot dead while "resisting arrest," 67 killed in combat, seven considered as suicides, one poisoned to death, 14 dead of unknown causes and 130 banished from the country (of which six have died and two have returned). In addition, today there are 100 political prisoners and about 10,000 exiles, including two ex-governors, Leonel Brizola and Miguel Arraes.

Transition to what?

What will happen between now and the inauguration of the new President-General, on March 15? No one knows. Nor can anyone predict how the new President will govern with such a strong opposition party in the Congress. He also faces myriad accusations of official corruption. One of the best-known political humorists of Brazil wrote a few weeks ago, "How lucky was Ali Baba: he only knew 40 thieves."

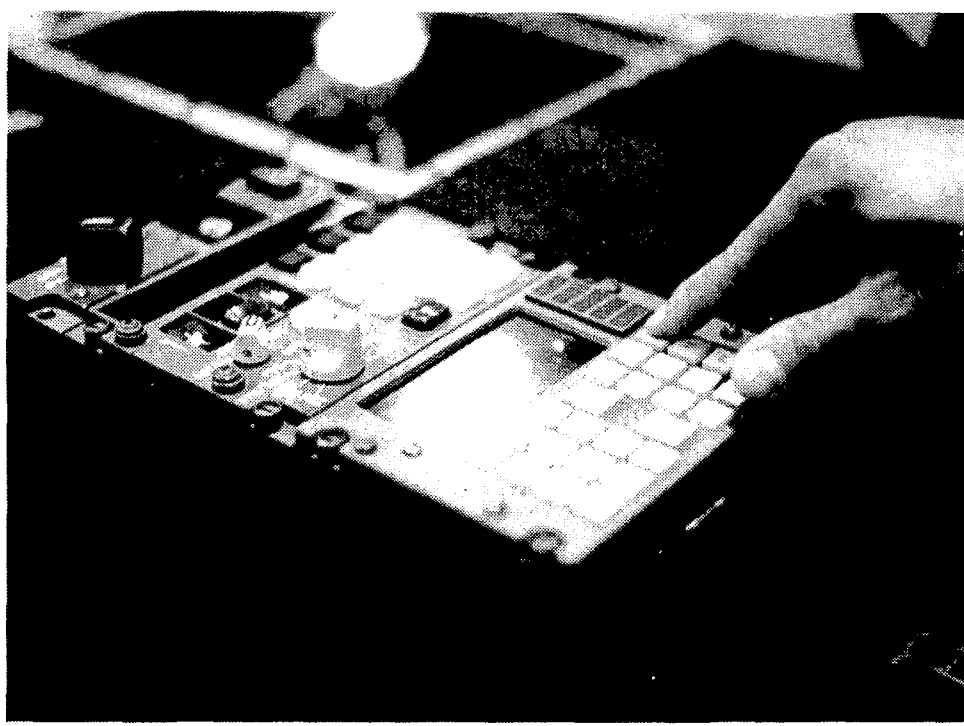
But there has been speculation. The most likely prospect is that the government will go on to invent new "packages" to diminish the impact of the MDB victory. Some, however, are afraid of a new military coup, despite civilian opposition and dissidents in the military. And others hope that the new president will take advantage of the situation to transform his government into one of transition back to a real democracy.

This would mean a total amnesty, new and truly free elections, and then a constituent assembly to write a new constitution. This would have to take place in an atmosphere free of the ideology of "national security," and with liberty for all political parties to organize and express themselves, without the censorship and intimidation that characterized the elections of Nov. 15.

Soon, in any case, we will know the real meaning of one of the new president's most celebrated statements: "I'm going to lead this country to democracy, and I'll arrest and destroy anyone who opposes it."

Judith Patarra is the New York correspondent for *Veja*, Brazil's major news-weekly.

REMOTE CONTROL DEATH



By John Markoff and Jon Stewart

The receptionist sitting at the front is wearing a death's head mask, the "admiral" standing behind her has a pony tail and is selling "arms" (still dripping blood and torn off at the elbow) from a suitcase, and two other protestors, wearing signs saying "military" and "industry," are cavorting in the background—both inside the same jacket.

This is the welcoming committee to Military Electronics Expo 1978, held in the shadow of Disneyland's towering Mattherhorn at the Anaheim Convention Center Nov. 14-16. The convention brought together more than 200 manufacturers of the new high-technology military equipment which has become a key part of Pentagon strategy since the Vietnam war.

This year "arms bazaars" like Military Expo have been greeted by protests organized by the Mobilization for Survival, a national coalition of groups opposed to nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

In Anaheim the Alliance for Survival, a Mobilization affiliate, held a three-day vigil and fast at the entrance to the exhibition hall. The protests included a demonstration by more than 200 Iranian students calling for an end to American military support for the Shah, and a candlelight march and service for the victims of electronic warfare attended by more than 600 demonstrators in front of the Convention Center.

During the three days of the convention many of the engineers and corporate salesmen attending appeared to be visibly upset by a group of 20 Japanese Buddhists who chanted and fasted in protest of the convention. The Japanese are part of Nihonz An, a group which has come to America to work for nuclear disarmament.

Going into the exhibit hall is like an eerie visit into Pentagon and corporation laboratories. Computers, lasers, semiconductors, fibre-optic connectors, and night vision devices are scattered around the hall, lending a Star Wars aura to the exhibit. But aside from a paper pop gun handed out by one exhibitor there is not a weapon in the hall.

Today computers are becoming more important than guns and bullets. Modern warfare has become electronic warfare, and electronic warfare has become big business.

Nine years ago last month, Gen. William C. Westmoreland stood before a U.S. Army audience in Washington, D.C. and looked into the future. He saw "battlefields on which we can destroy anything we can locate through instant communications and the almost instantaneous application of highly lethal fire-power."

"With cooperative effort," he added, "no more than ten years should separate us from the Automated Battlefield."

Prodded along by technological experiments taking place even then in Vietnam, and by unforeseen breakthroughs in the computer field since then, the General's vision has become a reality ahead of schedule. The computer has assumed the frontline of both defense and offense for any future American war.

"We cannot afford to confront the Soviets on an equal footing with manpower, with tanks, with ships or with planes," said Robert daCosta, publisher of Countermeasures Magazine.

"But we can leverage our dollars into high technology areas, to build better computers, better microprocessor chips, and to keep ourselves secure without having to invest all our money in bombs, bullets and things that kill people."

The tiny silicon chips, the intricate printed circuitry, the cable connectors, optic fibers, pulsating lasers and blinking red and green video display screens at the Anaheim expo looked as innocuous and harmless as the video games at Disneyland across the street. Yet the products displayed by the 200 corporate exhibitors are components of systems that produce mind-boggling weapons and communications devices of the electronic battlefield.

Siliconix Corp., of Santa Clara, Calif., displayed a computer that responds to voice commands and directs a remote control toy car. Voice recognition technology, according to the company, will eventually be used in fighter jets to give pilots greater freedom with less movement.

Another device for the cockpit already in use in current American jet fighters frees pilots from even having to aim at enemy aircraft. All they have to do is look at their target. A tiny laser beam, aimed into their eyes, will reflect back to a computer the angle of vision and automatically aim the missiles at the target.

Martin Proudflux, representative of Britain's Optic Electronics Corp., allowed reporters to play with his covert binocular communications system. It consists of a standard pair of military binoculars outfitted with an infra-red transmitter/receiver over which users can speak to one another up to a kilometer apart. Since the voice travels only along a narrow infra-red beam, the system is "highly secure" against unwanted eavesdroppers, said Proudflux.

Exhibitors reacted to the protestors with some surprise and much defensiveness. "We're not selling weapons here, not the things they're picketing about outside," said McDonnell-Douglas represen-

tative Ralph Bowen. "We're just exposing our technology."

Marion Rose, an engineer for the San Diego-based IRT Corp., echoed the sentiment: "We're not warmongers like the people outside say," he said. "Everything we do here is beneficial." The company's booth, dominated by a luminescent red poster of a nuclear explosion, displayed electronic testing products used to insure that national security systems continue to function in "a nuclear war environment."

"Government funding for testing tactical military systems has doubled in the last year," said Rose. The increasing budget outlays for electronic systems, he said, indicates a basic shift in U.S. military strategy from planning counterinsurgency-type wars to gearing up for short, intensive—possibly nuclear—wars in Europe.

The key to such a shift, explained publisher De Costa, is the ability to gather, centralize and analyze massive amounts of information from both human and electronic intelligence sources.

"Right now," said daCosta, "we are implementing a system called C-cubed—command, control and communications. This will be a system by which the President and his aides and staff in the Pentagon will be able to ascertain everything that is going on in the field, right down to the soldier in the foxhole. He'll be able to communicate with the battlefield commander, the admiral of the fleet, a ship commander, an aircraft commander. Simultaneously, their inputs, from all over the world, will be fed into a central computer that will collate all the intelligence in real time for a group of generals in the Pentagon who will be able to see the broad picture to make a decision."

While the generals in the Pentagon fight the war from their computer keyboards, outer space "is where the new type of warfare will get very interesting," said daCosta.

In fact space is rapidly being exploited by the Pentagon to carry on the arms race. While the development of laser and particle beam weapons are the most dramatic examples of the new space race, development is also going on toward space-based communication, navigation, and intelligence systems.

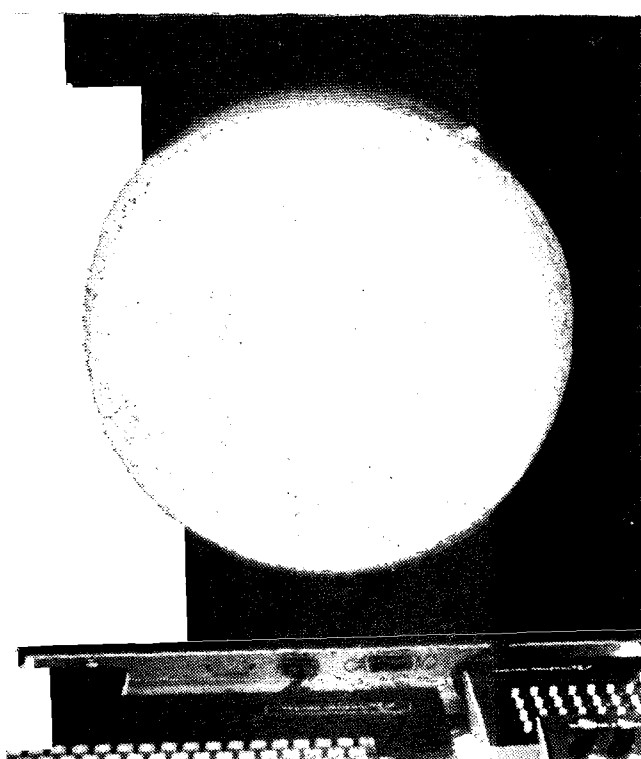
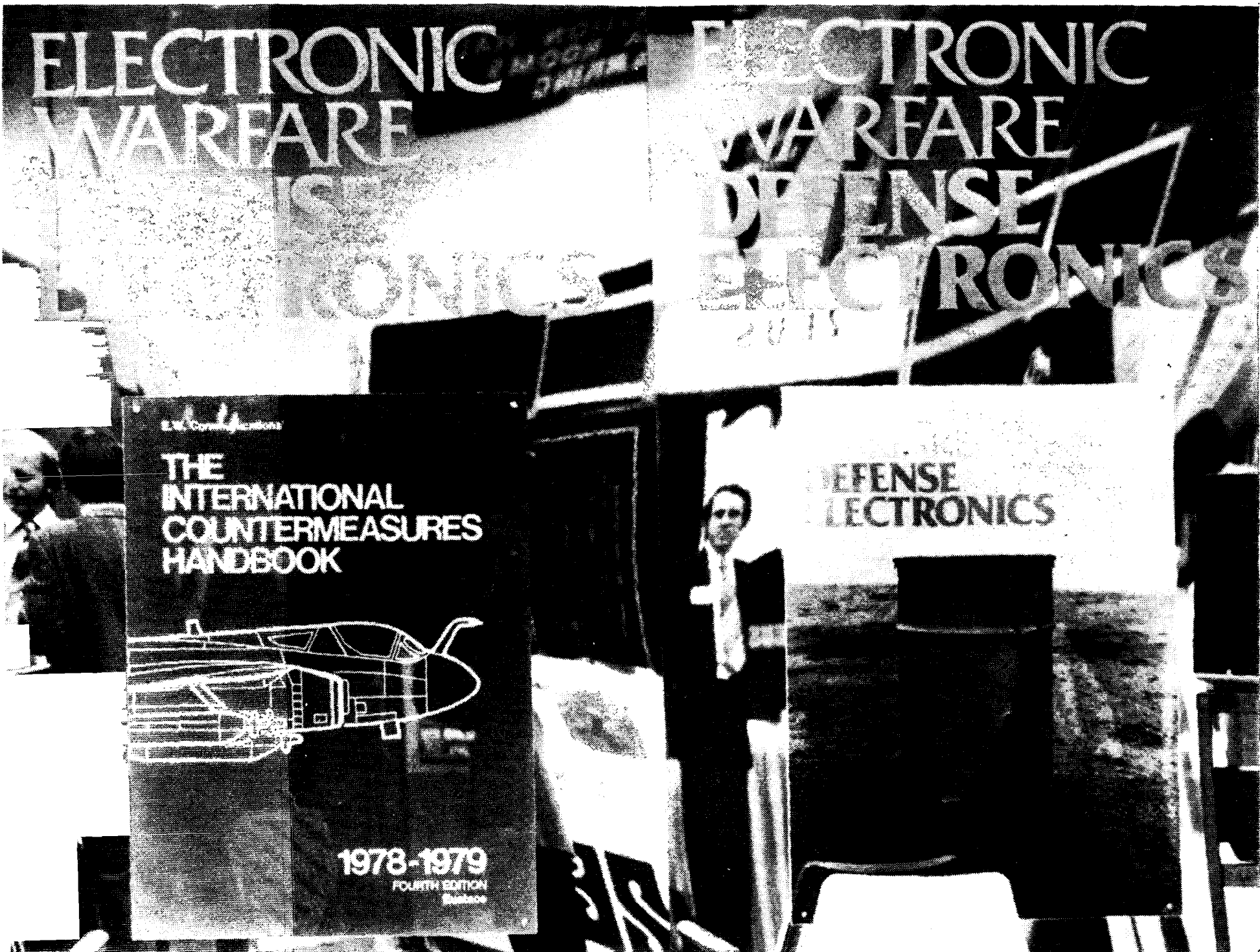
The McDonnell-Douglas exhibit displayed a new space laser communications system designed to be in operation in 1985. When in use, the satellite laser system will link military headquarters with ships, aircraft and submarines, providing what the company claims will be a virtually unjammable, secure and instantaneous communications link.

The solar powered lasers transmit information digitally by sending out bursts of light energy more than a billion times a second.

Such highly sophisticated systems are the "arms" of the electronic battlefield. "Today technology is in the driver's seat," said a Pentagon electronic warfare scientist in a recent interview.

"We're entering the era of Battlestar Galactica."

John Markoff and Jon Stewart are editors at Pacific News Service; they specialize in military affairs.



...of death...

Photos by Gayanne Feitinghoff

EDITORIAL

Day of reckoning near for Pinochet

The murder that would never be solved has been solved. The case that would never be brought to trial is now pending in federal court in Washington, D.C. The arrogance of officials in two governments (the U.S. and Chile) and of their agents and hitmen, who thought they were safely above the law, has been confounded. And the immobilizing skepticism of many Americans on the left, who believed that justice would never be done, has been answered—thanks to the dedicated efforts of other progressives in the U.S. and around the world who believed that with intelligent political work right can move might.

The chief perpetrators of the 1976 bombing murders in Washington, D.C., of exiled Chilean statesman Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt, his assistant, have been identified and eight of them have been indicted by a Washington, D.C. grand jury on ten counts of first degree murder, conspiracy, misprision of a felony and aiding and abetting the crime.

Three of the defendants, now in Chile, are men who until recently held high office in the government of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. They are currently under court arrest in Chile awaiting extradition proceedings brought by the U.S. government. One of these, Gen. Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, was head of DINA, Pinochet's secret police and terror squad. The other five defendants are right-wing Cubans, two of them still at large, with whom the DINA had contracted to carry out Letelier's murder.

One of the perpetrators, American citizen Michael Vernon Townley, is not on trial. Son of a former head of Ford Motor Co. in Chile, activist in Chilean neo-Nazi politics (the *Patria y Libertad* organization), and DINA operative, he has already pled guilty to Letelier's and Moffitt's murder and, in return for turning state's evidence, has received a light sentence of ten years' imprisonment. His testimony, after extradition from Chile, broke the case wide open.

Another perpetrator, the Chilean dictator Pinochet, remains unindicted and at large. His direct complicity in the Letelier-Moffitt murder has been stripped of all credible "deniability." And his complicity, also, in the murder of exiled Chilean Gen. Carlos Prats in Buenos Aires in 1974, and in the attempted murder of exiled political leader Bernardo Leighton in Rome in 1975, has been placed all but beyond reasonable doubt.

Justice department and FBI officials involved in the Letelier investigation, and officials at the highest level of the Carter administration, believe there is not a shadow of a doubt as to Pinochet's responsibility for Letelier's murder, directed by his DINA chief and close associate Contreras. The dictator, they are convinced the evidence shows, authorized and approved it, just as he must have done in the murder of Prats and the attempted murder of Leighton.

Pinochet and his fascist regime are on trial in Washington as surely as are the eight indicted defendants. But so is the "cold war" *realpolitik* of the U.S. government and corporations.

Creatures of American policy.

The Pinochets of Chile, like the Somozas of Nicaragua, the Parks of South Korea, the Shahs of Iran, are as much the creatures of American corporate-imperial power as of the conservative and reactionary forces in their own countries. The American CIA trained and funded their political movements, secret police and hired thugs; American military advisers trained their armies and "counter-insurgency" police operations against their



Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet (seated, center) with members of his fascist junta. Their days in power are numbered.

own people; American presidents and secretaries of state declared them valued allies in the "war against communism"; American aid programs kept their governments solvent; and American banks and corporations paid for their "protection" while making that protection pay off.

But the consequences of foreign policy no longer stop at the water's edge. Anti-democratic and fascist networks established abroad don't stay abroad. Since the 1960s, the U.S. has harvested the drag- onseeds it sowed against the left throughout the world: the right-wing Cubans, the Korean CIA, Iran's SAVAK, Chile's DINA, have come home to corrupt and disrupt the American people's own liberties, applying here what they learned from their American teachers. And the teachers, too, have brought their lessons home to practice against Americans. Pinochet's DINA went too far—committing murder on a main Washington avenue in broad daylight.

As Saul Landau puts it in his solidly documented study of the Letelier case: "An old Spanish proverb states: 'Educate the crows and they pluck out your eyes.'" The crows have come home to roost.

Indeed, one of the ironic, if inevitable, twists in the Letelier-Moffitt case, is Contreras' defense that Letelier's murderers were CIA agents. This had forced the CIA to an unusual resort to legal, if not moral, exoneration—unusual because it leaves CIA officials open to subpoena to testify in open court. Its director of security James Gambino filed affidavit in federal court Nov. 13, disclaiming that Townley was a CIA agent. That would destroy Contreras' defense and Pinochet's with it.

In desperation, Pinochet circles in Chile are threatening to sue for extradition of Richard Helms to stand trial for complicity, while CIA director, in the 1970 murder of Chilean Army Chief of Staff Gen. Rene Schneider, who had remained loyal to Allende's constitutional government.

An embarrassment.

Pinochet has become an embarrassment to the American government. He is making too many feathers fly. His stupidity, however much he has been taught by American diplomats, economists, business executives, military and intelligence advisers, all too fully matches his fascist mentality. Drawing increasing opposition both within Chile and world-wide, his regime has come to be disruptive of broader American diplomatic objectives.

The Harkin amendment to Congress' foreign aid bill, which forbids aid to governments like Chile that stand in such blatant violation of elementary human rights, restricts the President's freedom of action on behalf of the world corporate order. Support for such restriction is only strengthened by the continued existence and crude practices of regime's like Pinochet's. The Catholic church in Chile is calling for an end to the dictatorship, calling attention to the poverty, unemployment and repression so closely associated with U.S. government and corporate sponsorship.

And now, the AFL-CIO, including the east coast longshoremen's union, declare they will join the socialist and communist led unions in Europe and elsewhere in a boycott of Chilean trade, in protest against Pinochet's abolition of trade union rights. Four years ago, the American labor movement refused to go along with

a boycott, citing with approval Pinochet's anti-communism.

The Chilean dictator's days are numbered. But what about the continuing anti-democratic practices of the U.S. government abroad and their corrosive impact on democracy at home?

In the wake of the American conquest of the Philippines some 70 years ago Mark Twain wrote about the consequences of imperialism for democracy in a future America:

"...It was impossible to save the Greco Republic. ...Lust of conquest had long ago done its work; trampling on the helpless had taught her...to endure with apathy the like at home; multitudes who had applauded the crushing of other people's liberties, lived to suffer for their mistake in their own persons. The government was irrevocably in the hands of the prodigiously rich and their hangers-on; the suffrage was become a mere machine, which they used as they chose. There was no principle but commercialism, not patriotism but of the pocket. ...The drift toward monarchy...began..."

The U.S. cannot much longer have an anti-democratic corporate foreign policy without the destruction of democracy at home. Have we not learned that much from the broad-ranging "Watergate" revelations of crime and corruption by the American government in the name of "national security"? Have we not seen Twain's prophecy all too nearly fulfilled? Will the Letelier-Moffitt case prove a turning point?

(Saul Landau's study, *They Educated the Crows: An Institute Report on the Letelier-Moffitt Murders*, is available from the Transnational Institute/IPS 1901 Q St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, for \$2.00.

LETTERS

DOOMED?

NANCY LIEBER'S ARTICLE (ITT, OCT. 25) on Sweden's Social Democrats raises interesting questions. She is "convinced that Sweden is an exception to the social democratic rule of merely reforming capitalism." She cites the Wage-Earners' Investment Fund plan—not yet formally adopted as a party platform—for buying out Sweden's capitalists over a 30-year period, using a portion of the profits generated by the enterprises themselves.

This really is a new departure, and indicates fresh thinking in the social-democratic movement. Before hailing it as the road to socialism, however, a couple of objections naturally arise. What will the capitalists do with their generous compensation? It seems that Sweden will have a substantial capitalist sector 30 years from now in which they can invest. This would mean that there will still be a capitalist class in Sweden, but the scope of government ownership and planning will be enlarged. What is proposed is co-ownership rather than so-

cialism. It may bring definite benefits to the Swedish people, within a capitalist framework, provided that circumstances allow the plan to be carried out.

But will circumstances allow this? The Swedish plan depends on preserving capitalist prosperity for at least 30 more years, in order to fund the takeover. Will the next 30 years be an extrapolation of the last 30? It seems unlikely. My own conviction, shared by many others of widely varying political standpoints, is that the long postwar boom is over and we have entered a period of low growth rates, high unemployment, high inflation and increased instability. The result has been a crisis for the social-democratic movement (in the USA, the liberal movement), which depends on winning part of the benefits of high capitalism for its constituency. The new era of capitalist austerity has meant trouble for social-democratic governments in Britain and West Germany, and decades-old regimes in Israel and Sweden have fallen.

Any socialist strategy that depends on continued prosperity seems doomed to failure.

—John Farley
Tucson, Ariz.

STIFLING THE PRESS

ON JUNE 27, 1978, I WAS EXCLUDED from a trial concerning an alleged murder attempt by two suspected Iranian SAVAK agents on leaders of the Iranian Students Association. I had been covering the case since the defendants first fired the shots almost six months before. Defense attorneys proclaimed that I was a potential witness, but naturally, they never called me.

On Aug. 30, 1978, a reporter for the *Woodland Daily Democrat* was subpoenaed by a defense attorney for a Hell's Angel on trial for murder. The biker's attorney publicly announced that he didn't like some of the stories the reporter had been printing.

In Florida, the *Tallahassee Democrat* was unable to continue with a story concerning a federal narcotics case when their key investigative reporter was subpoenaed as a potential witness.

All of these cases have one obvious point. Can defense attorneys (or prosecution, for that matter) continue to subpoena reporters indiscriminately because they don't like what they are printing?

—Seth Derish
San Francisco

JEWISH

IN THE OCT. 4 ITT, CHRISTY MACY REPORTS from Washington about a much-

deserved award (the annual Letelier-Moffitt Human Rights Award) of the Institute for Policy Studies to "Philanthropist Samuel Rubin." Further on in his account, Mr. Macy describes Rubin as "a distinguished white-haired Russian immigrant." I missed the word Jewish next to the word Russian. Rubin came to this country at the age of 5. In the U.S., Immigration authorities define its immigrants only in terms of the country of origin. To the U.S. immigration authorities, therefore, Samuel Rubin is a Russian. Yet surely the fact that Rubin is Jewish is as important as that he is Russian and an immigrant.

The example cited above is not the only instance in *IN THESE TIMES*. Earlier, in the Nov. 29, 1976, issue, you had a booknote about a children's book entitled *How Tevye Became a Milkman*. Tevye, of course, is the person made famous in *Fiddler on the Roof*. However, in his booknote review, Karen Morrill spoke of Tevye as "a poor Ukrainian woodsman."

—Morris U. Schappes
Editor, Jewish Currents

CORRECTION

In last week's issue, the 1978 NBA predictions were written by Mark Naison and Fred Siegel.

DIALOG

They wanted a socialist in the legislature...

ALTHOUGH RUSS CHRISTENSEN WAS NARROWLY DEFEATED in his bid for a seat in the Maine House of Representatives, he feels his campaign was a success. Christensen, an avowed Marxian socialist from Bangor, lost to his conservative Republican opponent by only 38 votes. Led by a popular young Bangor native, senatorial candidate Bill Cohen, the Republicans swept the election in Bangor. Only one Democrat, who was running unopposed, won a house seat from Bangor, and the Republicans also won sizeable majorities in virtually all races for major state and national offices.

But Christensen ran better than any other Democrat legislative candidate, and he also ran well ahead of the rest of the Democratic ticket in his district. The successful Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Joe Brennan, won only 42 percent of the votes in the district, while Christensen was winning 48 percent. "In the circumstances," Christensen says, "I think I ran a creditable race. If nothing else I proved to the local Democrats that an overt socialist can run at least as strong a race as a liberal Democrat can."

In speaking to college students or professional people, Christensen's usual tactic was to identify himself explicitly as a socialist. He believes that about 25 percent of the people who voted for him did so because they wanted to see an avowed socialist in the legislature. In speaking to voters who seemed likely to respond negatively to words like "socialism," Christensen instead emphasized three key issues: guaranteed jobs as an alternative to welfare, fair taxation of multinational corporations, and a national medical care program.

He also consistently emphasized openness and accountability in government, and he believes this theme of his campaign won him some votes even from Republicans.

"However," he reports, "most of the voters don't want to talk issues. At most they'll give you two or three minutes of their time. That's why it's im-

portant to run as a Democrat. The party gives you credibility. If you walk up to people and say, 'I'm a socialist and I'm running for the legislature,' they won't listen. But if you say, 'I'm a Democrat,' they will listen. And once you've got their attention, you can talk to them about socialist ideals and goals."

Christensen believes his campaign was worth the time and effort it required because it gave him an opportunity to affect the discussion of some important political issues. Less than two months before the election, Independent Gov. Jim Longley called the legislature into special session. The sole purpose of this special session was to consider placing a "tax limitation" constitutional amendment on the November ballot.

Virtually all the most powerful political forces in the state (the governor, the leadership of the Republican Party, and some of the key leaders of the Democratic Party) were determined to push such an amendment through; but Christensen, his campaign coordinator Dick Lindsay, Bill Butler of the Maine Woodsmen Association, and Lance Tapley of Common Cause all lobbied full-time in Augusta against the proposed amendment. Their efforts helped create a coalition of labor groups, liberal Democrats, and public interest groups that was strong enough to force a stalemate, and the "tax limitation" advocates finally gave up their attempts to put a constitutional amendment on the November ballot.

Christensen also spoke out effectively during his campaign on the monopoly press. The *Bangor Daily News*, the only daily newspaper in northern and eastern Maine, blatantly attempted to swing the election to the most conservative candidates. Christensen became a principal spokesman for the need for an alternative press. At one state-wide Democratic rally, he won a standing ovation when he called for the establishment of a new newspaper in eastern Maine, and subsequently some prominent Democrats indicated a willingness to work for the creation of such a newspaper.

"But the major problem with my campaign," Christensen says, "is that it was too much like the traditional political campaigns which have turned so many people against electoral politics. I was going to people and saying, 'Vote for me,' even though I had never done anything to serve most of these people. I had been working among the people of

the district for the last few years. I've worked as a volunteer with the local women's crisis center, and in this capacity I've helped at least 100 women in the district to get *pro se* divorces. And I've worked with a co-op housing corporation in the district. But I hadn't done enough of this sort of thing.

"Every socialist who wants to run for office should make 'Serve the people' his/her motto. If you have served them, they will vote for you. If not, they probably won't, and we have no right to think that they should." Christensen plans to engage in community work over the next two years. He plans to initiate a fee legal clinic for residents of the area, and he may also attempt to establish a free or pre-paid health clinic. "I want to involve myself in these activities both as a socialist and as a member of the Democratic Party," he says.

Burt Hatlin
Bangor, Maine

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ROBERTA LYNCH

Our national secret: A troubled society destroying its children

YOU KNOW THEM. THEY'RE the kids a recent TV documentary called "bad boys." You see them on street corners and in playgrounds. They may even hang out in schoolyards, though they seldom go to school. ¶The drop-out rate among Latino high school students in Chicago is now near 70 percent. In the Bronx, New York, 50 percent of the children are not in school on any given day.



They are not the suburban hot rodders who are into burning rubber and making minor trouble before going off to college. They are not even the segment of working class kids who may form rival gangs and occasionally brawl, but who retain, through however slender ethnic, neighborhood, or trade ties, some sense of their place in the world.

No, these young people are something else. They may be black or white or Latin, but they're almost all children of poverty in a land of plenty. They are children raised on the American dream that promised them everything and gave them nothing.

They are frequently the products of frustrated and overworked parents, of disinterested or hostile teachers, of churches that offer no more than peace after life,

of streets that offer the only peace in life—in the form of powder and pills. If they are black or Latin, they are also the products of racial discrimination.

There are few jobs for these kids now and small prospects for the future. The jobs that do exist seem too bleak to hang anybody's star on. Fewer and fewer young people are willing to put up with the physically exhausting and mentally deadening pace and conditions of much of this work.

Many try: they stand in line for jobs, they show up for work, they want to make good. But the money is hardly enough to live on and the work is too much to live with. So they're back on the streets.

For teenage girls things are no better, only at times different. An image comes to mind: It is a cold winter Chicago morn-

ing and I climb out of my car parked by an alleyway under the el tracks. There are two young kids walking out of the alley and I think, god they must be freezing, they don't have any coats on. Then they come into focus and there is one of those flashes of understanding you wish you didn't have. They are putting their clothes back on. He is zipping up his pants. She is buttoning hers. They cannot be more than 12. Her face is blank. In nine months she could have a child.

They have babies. Nearly 800,000 unmarried teenagers become pregnant each year, and the children of these pregnancies have an exceptionally high rate of infant mortality and nutrition deficiencies.

The experts don't really know why yet. Maybe I'm too literal, too simple, but as I see it, if you feel empty you look for something to fill you up. And there is little else that can do that quite so clearly. While you may pay for years to come, it costs nothing to get pregnant. And anyone can do it—biology alone in our society does not discriminate based on class or race.

The real problem is not petty crime or pregnancy; it is this terrible emptiness, an absence even of any real combativeness, that afflicts boys and girls both. It is a change, I think, even from a decade or two ago when a popular song could still promise: "We've got to get out of this place...girl, there's a better life for you and me."

These last ten years have witnessed some elemental erosion of hope. For millions of young people there is no longer any sense of possibility—no belief in the future.

Is it any wonder, then, that these kids live in some netherworld, neither youth nor adult? They obliterate the normal rites of puberty because puberty is a time of preparation, of transformation, and they have nothing to prepare for, nowhere they are going. For them, there is only the finest of lines between adolescence and adulthood—and the tragedy is that they never completely have either.

They spend their teen years living semi-adult lives: many of the boys taking the

risks of crime; many of the girls taking the burdens of motherhood. And they will spend their adult lives, in many cases, up against the bureaucratic paternalism of a system that constantly acts to keep them from maturity and responsibility, from becoming full members of a social community.

If we have a national secret, it may be this massive smothering of the spirit that finds us a society in danger of destroying its children.

Those who try to break through this silence are few. There is a small number of dedicated men and women who try to work directly with young people, but they face enormous obstacles and have few resources at their disposal.

Jesse Jackson's "Push for Excellence" campaign is important simply because it has helped to bring the problem into the open. Although Jackson's emphasis on self-improvement as opposed to institutional change has its obvious limitations, his is one of the only voices trying to force parents, educators, and politicians to face the reality of what is happening to these kids.

But the real solutions are so complex, so costly, so radical that our leaders don't want to hear, let alone speak of them. They would entail a reorganization of our economic structures and a reorientation of our national purpose.

They would require breaking the cycle of poverty, providing useful jobs at fair wages, ending discrimination, and altering our ways and means of education. But most basically, they would require a social system that is committed to people developing themselves to their fullest potential as our greatest natural resource.

Until we begin to move in these directions, the problem will remain. Children with painful pasts and empty futures. As the Music Man said of the kids of that fictional River City, "We've surely got trouble." (©1978 In These Times)

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization. Her column is syndicated in 32 publications with an aggregate circulation of over 200,000.

MANNING MARABLE

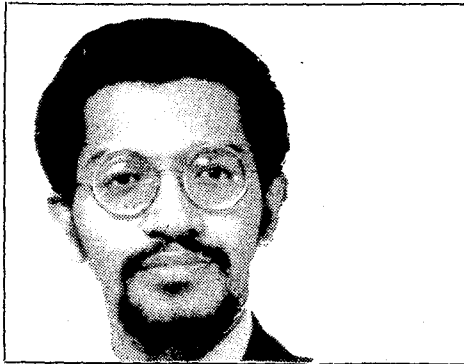
FROM THE GRASSROOTS

Demands for equality breaking up those old party lines

THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, there is a growing demand from the grass-roots levels of society for a new definition of economic equality. ¶The reasons for this are not difficult to unearth. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which was initiated to create full employment as a national goal, was destroyed by the Carter administration. True, a version of Humphrey-Hawkins was passed during the final hours of the last Congressional session, but a clause on inflation within the bill will make it inoperative.

Health care insurance, supported by Sen. Edward Kennedy and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, has gone nowhere. Carter refused to support a watered-down version of the Labor Law Reform bill in the Senate. The overwhelmingly Democratic Congress passed a conservative tax bill which gave major incentives to corporations and investors while providing almost no tax relief to average, working Americans.

Taking the lead from government, big business has aggressively attacked labor on all fronts. As A.H. Raskin noted in a recent issue of *The Nation*, "employers



are on the attack in labor relations" to "an extent without parallel" since the desperate days of the Great Depression. "Management, for its part, smells blood."

None of these assaults on the rights of grassroots people have gone totally unchallenged. William Winpisinger, the president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, openly accused Carter of betraying his electoral mandate of 1976. "We will no longer contribute to our own demise—pay for votes against us. We will withdraw this support," Winpisinger warned, "even if it means isolation and defeat for some of our spotted friends, not to mention the wolves in sheep's clothing. There are alternatives." Similarly, Doug Fraser,

the president of the United Auto Workers, declared this summer that business is waging "one-sided class warfare" against the working class, minorities and the poor.

For the first time in recent memory, top labor union leaders are threatening to break from the Democratic Party's ranks, unless there are sufficient political guarantees that promote a more equal and beneficial standard of life for working Americans. Fraser called together progressive politicians, labor leaders and activists to discuss political strategies for promoting full employment and health care on Oct. 17. (ITT, Oct. 25).

The revolt against the Democratic Party's conservatism has spread to local levels. In New York state, for example, the Civil Service Employees Association refused to endorse incumbent Gov. Hugh Carey or his Republican counterpart, Perry Duryea. In Washington, there is growing talk of running one or two progressive candidates against Carter in the 1980 Democratic Primary in an effort to force the administration to move toward the left. The names of Ron Dellums and Michael Harrington are most frequently heard as potential challengers.

Few labor leaders, however, are now prepared to carry through the logic of

their position. If the Democratic Party's leadership is nonresponsive to reforms, where does labor throw its support? The Republican proposals on jobs, tax reduction, unemployment and health care are simply disastrous and anti-humanistic.

The solution toward building a society based on real economic equality calls for the establishment of large, autonomous political formations independent of both major political parties. So long as almost all black leaders and labor remain wed to the Democratic Party, Carter can afford to dismiss their demands.

Finally, the creation of a more egalitarian society transcends electoral politics and involves a profoundly cultural and social transformation in ourselves. Working people, not the corporate dictators and federal bureaucrats, create the profits essential in running all businesses and the government. It seems only fair that common working people, not their bosses, should also have a greater share in determining how the country is run. This is the meaning of economic equality.

Manning Marable is chairperson of the department of political science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta.

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IN DEPTH

PART TWO OF TWO

Official jobless rates flunk reality test

By Harry Brill

SERIOUS METHODOLOGICAL DEFECTS CONTRIBUTE TO DEFLATING the official unemployment rate in the U.S. The selection of a representative sample is obviously critical. A sample with a mix of households skewed toward those with lower rates of unemployment will underestimate the aggregate unemployment rate—and this is what actually occurs. Dr. Sar Levitan, chairman of the President's National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics found that when measuring unemployment of black workers in a given city, the sample of blacks included in the survey may be only two or three households. Counting such disproportionately small numbers of blacks (whose unemployment is higher than the average) depresses the official aggregate unemployment rate.

In 1975, a study sponsored by the St. Louis Office of Manpower revealed serious problems in the household sampling. The Labor Department's household sample, based on the 1970 census, is supposedly revised each year to reflect changes in housing patterns as a result of new construction and demolitions. Yet the St. Louis Manpower Office found that the Census Bureau has never updated its sample, resulting in a substantial undercount of the unemployed.

The Office of Manpower hired economists to conduct an independent survey in St. Louis. They replicated the Labor Department's own conservative definitions of unemployment in the questionnaire, only varying the sample design, to make it more representative. They counted an unemployment rate 50 percent higher than the official rate. Although the household sample is not the only input for determining the unemployment rate in localities, and so does not account for the entire disparity, the study revealed it was an important factor.

On Jan. 1, 1978, 9,000 more households were added to the original sample of 47,000 in order to increase accuracy by taking larger samples in smaller states. Instead, the additional sample increased the gaps between the official and real unemployment rates because the distribution of new households was disproportionately small in the central cities and ghettos.

In Massachusetts, for example, virtually all of the households selected were in Barnstable County (Cape Cod) where persistent unemployment is relatively low. Since the new sample was introduced this year, the biases are not reflected in the 1977 unemployment rate, which is being considered here. From this year on, however, the additional sample will further understate the magnitude of unemployment.

A conservative estimate would be that correcting these biases would increase the unemployment rate by at least 10 percent—that is, another 1.3 percent to the rate of 12.7 percent computed in Part I (Nov. 22) which would bring the aggregate unemployment rate to 14.0 percent, or at least double the official unemployment rate.

Real gap growing

The changes, in fact, that have been made from time to time make it seem on occasion that the economic situation is improving when in actuality it is deteriorating.

For example, when the additional 9,000 households were added to the sample in January, unemployment rates reported for the first quarter of 1978 declined ap-

preciably from the previous quarter. Yet as the Commerce Department reported for the first quarter, GNP also declined. Economists were understandably surprised. For the labor market to improve while the nation's output of goods and services decreased seemed miraculous. GNP statistics *should* have signaled the Labor Department to reexamine its revised sample.

Long-range perspectives are even more difficult to see due to continual revisions of one kind or another. Since 1967, the following modifications have been made: 14 and 15 year olds were eliminated from the unemployment count, those who admitted to interviewers that they were discouraged and no longer actively seeking work were dropped, and the time for which a jobless person seeking work was counted was reduced from 60 to 28 days.

Despite these revisions, the unemployment rates have risen substantially during the '70s. In fact, the real gap between the current rate and those in the recent past is greater than these official rates suggest.

In calculating the monthly unemployment trends most familiar to the public, the Labor Department uses statistical procedures that make meaningful comparisons extremely difficult. The raw, unofficial unemployment rates are seasonally adjusted. According to the Labor Department, about 90 percent of the monthly fluctuations in the unemployment rates can be accounted for by seasonal variations unrelated to the economy.

Distilling raw statistics to reflect changes in the economy seems at first quite reasonable. Closer inspection shows that the official, or seasonally adjusted unemployment rates obscure rather than reveal the labor market trends.

Seasonal sleight of hand.

The seasonal adjustment process statistically shifts the unemployed from months of below-average to above-average rates to offset both seasonal peaks and troughs. This balancing procedure entails no net changes in the 12 monthly or annual unemployment rates. It does tremendously reduce the disparity in the unemployment rates from one month to another, hiding considerable turbulence in the labor market which tosses the American worker about.

Even though more than a million workers lost their jobs in January 1978, according to the Labor Department's raw figures, the difference in the unemployment rates between December and January disappeared when seasonally adjusted. The formula operates as if the entire increase in unemployment in January were unrelated to economic conditions. The Labor Department blames a 1 percent rise in joblessness mainly on cold winter weather. But unemployment contributed by nature means no pay—just like job loss from any other cause.

Cold weather can unnecessarily excuse the economy. The technology to carry out year-round construction is highly developed: department stores, motels, residential and commercial buildings have all been built in winter months. Often they are not—which partly explains why taking account of seasonal factors in computing unemployment seems reasonable to the public.

Economist Walter Heller, a former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, admitted being amazed to observe from his office in Minnesota a building being constructed in 20 degree-below-zero weather. These seasonal adjustments cover up the lack of year-round work for construction workers.

The economy, not nature, poses formidable barriers to the full utilization of labor. To pretend that unemployment hasn't risen obscures by one statistical swoop both a serious weakness in our economy and the hardship experienced by American workers.

In June, adjustments in the unemployment rate are intended to offset the unusually large number of young people entering the labor market when school closes. Since unemployment almost invariably rises in June, the Labor Department claims that without adjustment, the raw unemployment rate would convey an economic downturn rather than an abnormal swelling of the labor force.

There is a serious flaw in this argument. Although unemployment rises in June, the extent varies greatly, from as little as 0.1 percent to 15 times that extent. The extent to which joblessness increases depends mainly upon economic conditions.

Schultze's aberration.

Compare, for example, recent experience with the early 1950s, when job prospects for young people were brighter. If we consider years when the extent to which the labor force expanded from May to June were comparable, we can see how the economic stagnancy of the '70s, rather than seasonal issues, are paramount.

Unemployment rose by only one-fourth as much in June 1955 than in June 1974; in June, 1953, by only one-fifth the rate of June, 1970. From May to June, 1954,

unadjusted unemployment did not climb at all. What the unadjusted unemployment rate reveals, and the seasonally adjusted figures obscure, is that job opportunities in recent years have not been expanding fast enough to accommodate new job seekers.

The official unemployment rate occasionally declines after being adjusted although the unadjusted rate reveals that unemployment has actually risen. The Labor Department calls this "overadjustment," which tends to occur at higher levels of unemployment. This problem was officially acknowledged as early as 1962, but has never been corrected.

For June, 1978, the national media reported a substantial drop in unemployment from May to 5.7 percent—the nation's lowest rate in almost four years. Charles Schultze, the President's chief economic advisor, noted that the decline from May to June from 6.2 percent to 5.7 percent, was among the steepest declines in 15 years. But the unadjusted unemployment rate jumped from 5.5 percent to 6.2 percent, almost 700,000 more people without a job.

Schultze admitted that the huge reported decline in June might have been a "statistical aberration." Apart from his passing comment, Labor Department spokespeople and other government economists have still maintained that unemployment has declined.

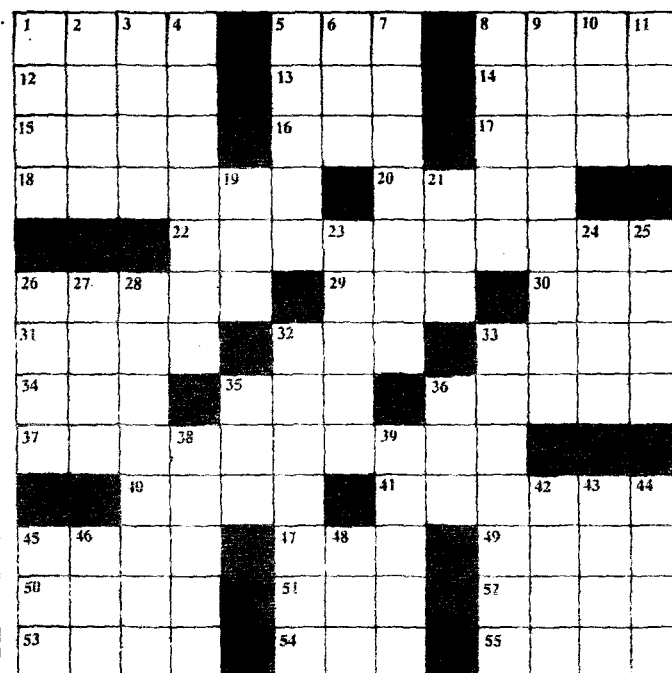
The combination of biases produced by the Labor Department's definitions and sampling and averaging methods means that official unemployment rates respond to recessionary trends slowly. Eventually, substantial increases in unemployment are reflected in the rate because in hard times joblessness reaches even the more economically insulated households, overrepresented in the sample.

But the public doesn't deserve data that lag behind the economic facts. We should get—and our public policies should be based on—an accurate, more sensitive record of what actually occurs in the labor market. The Labor Department's official unemployment rate receives a failing grade on this score.

Harry Brill is a professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

Of Lakes et al.

By Jay Shepherd



ACROSS

- 1 Roman statesman-soldier
- 5 Word with at and away
- 8 Chinese dynasty
- 12 Welsh reformer
- 13 Slim finial
- 14 "___ not to question why..."
- 15 Talk wildly
- 16 Soviet program (1921-28)
- 17 Poisonous tree
- 18 Potentate
- 20 Fabled monster
- 22 Brought about again
- 26 Vampire
- 29 Wore away
- 30 Labor org. with HQ in Geneva
- 31 Potpourri
- 32 Miss Arden

DOWN

- 3 Lounge
- 34 100,000 rupees
- 35 Mouths
- 36 Lofty nest
- 37 Horizontal line, in masonry
- 40 Particle
- 41 Hymenopterous insect
- 45 Booth
- 47 Label
- 49 "M'appari," for one
- 50 Milkfish
- 51 Gums
- 52 Raise
- 53 Clari
- 54 Wrong (prefix)
- 55 Film actor Bruce

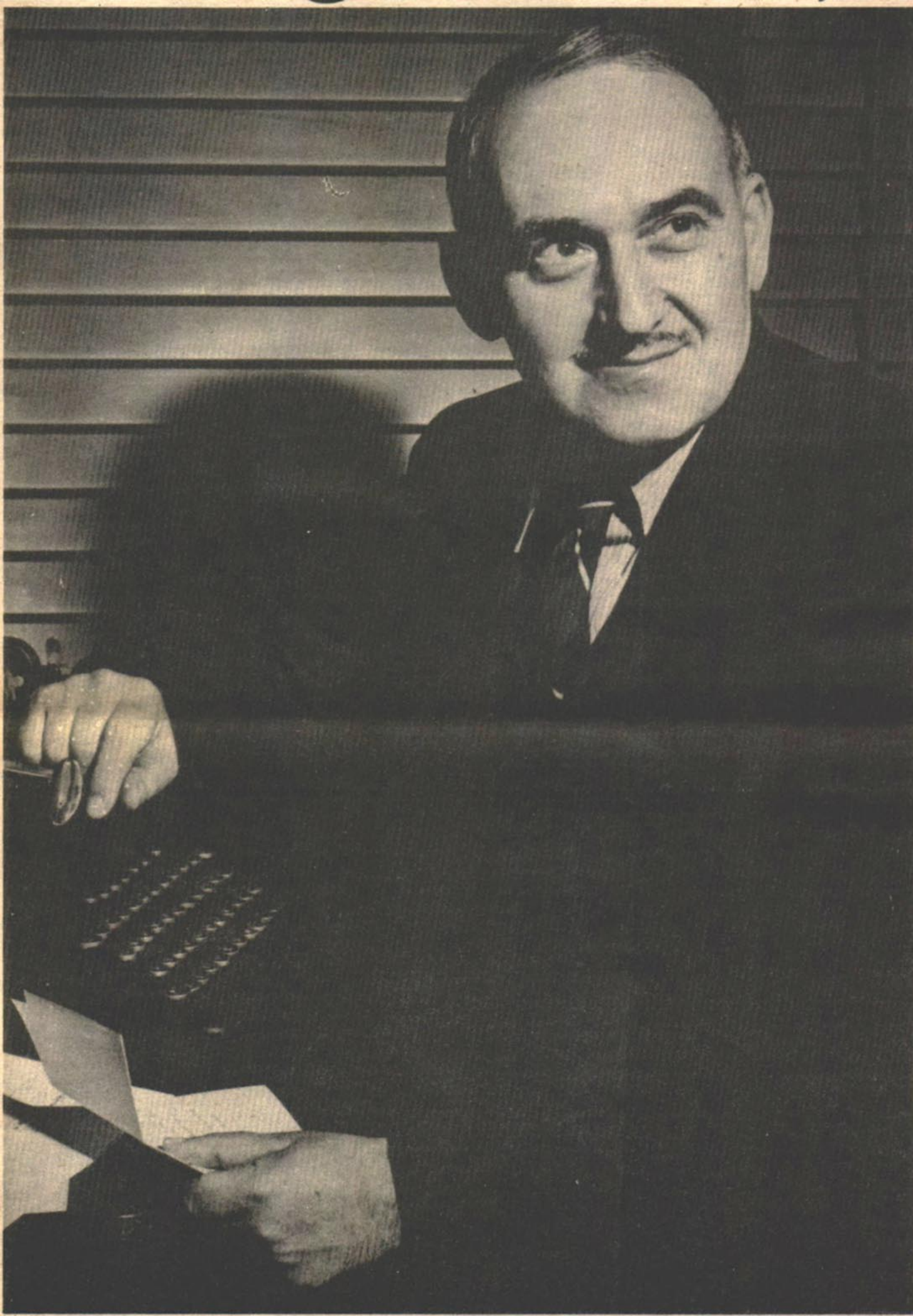
- 3 Neighbor of Ky.
- 4 Toronto's lake
- 5 Hundred (comb. form)

- 6 Orang-utan, for one
- 7 Fencing thrust
- 8 Muslim virgin
- 9 Marquette's lake
- 10 One of the Gershwins
- 11 Balaam's beast
- 19 Andaman or Java
- 21 Certain engineer
- 23 Pert. to ships
- 24 She conquered Thor
- 25 Type of charity
- 26 Girl's name
- 27 Woe is me!
- 28 Chicago's lake
- 32 Mistake in printing
- 33 Opposed to windward
- 35 Cereal
- 36 Miscellany
- 38 Loan deposit
- 39 Russian log huts
- 42 Unfettered
- 43 Ananias, for one
- 44 Tell stories
- 45 Hang back
- 46 Be beholden
- 48 He's still "the Greatest"



Note: We apologize for the error in last week's diagram. The answer (above) is correct.

George Seldes, Grand



Irving Haberman

By Derek Shearer

ALMOST EVERY FRIDAY, George Seldes spends the morning working in the Dartmouth College Library in Hanover, N.H. Promptly at noon he joins his wife, Helen, for lunch in the Hanover Inn, the place he suggests for meeting infrequent visitors such as myself.

At 88, Seldes is one of the last of the old-time muckrakers—a pioneer investigative reporter before this more respectable term came into use. In his career, which has spanned two world wars and two eras of political repression, he has written 16 books documenting such themes as corporate corruption of the press, the erosion of civil liberties, and the close ties between American business and fascism. For ten years, between 1940 and 1950, George and Helen Seldes published a newsletter called *In Fact*, which at its peak reached 750,000 readers with news the established press did not consider fit to print.

Through his newsletter, Seldes had an impact on a generation of American leftists comparable to that of I.F. Stone in the 1950s and 1960s. They still remember him with fondness. Professor Howard Zinn of Boston University, a leading anti-war activist, said that the first book he had ever read on fascism was Seldes' portrait of Mussolini, *Sawdust Caesar*, published in 1935. Daniel Ellsberg described *In Fact* as one of the first publications to open his eyes politically. At 14, Ralph Nader discovered Seldes' books and later became a regular reader of *In Fact*. United Auto Workers vice president Irving Bluestone recalled that Seldes "was one of the few journalists who reported honestly on labor. We all read him religiously." Likewise, I.F. Stone, whose own newsletter was modeled after *In Fact*, acknowledged his debt to Seldes. (When Stone was starting his weekly in the 1950s, Seldes gave him the *In Fact* mailing list.)

Seldes has been absent from the political wars for almost two decades, and many of his admirers think that he is dead. Such reports are greatly exaggerated, however, as Seldes is quick to point out.

Spending an afternoon with Seldes is like meeting a time traveler. A short, lively man in remarkably good health for his 88 years, he recounts incidents he witnessed in France during World War I, or in Moscow in the 1920s, with the same sense of vivid immediacy we might give to the latest Watergate revelations. He is, in fact, a living historical figure who has simply outlived most of his friends and contemporaries—Sinclair Lewis, Dorothy Thompson, and Ernest Hemingway, to name a few.

Seldes left active journalism in 1950, when he and his wife closed down *In Fact* and settled in rural Vermont. Casualties of the McCarthy era, neglected by publishers and journalism schools for more than 20 years, the Seldes have lived quietly in semi-retirement—painting and gardening, reading widely, and writing. They survive on the royalties from *The Great Quotations*, a book Seldes compiled in the 1950s and which continues to sell as a Pocket Book edition. In recent years, he has been studying 20th century philosophers in preparation of a revised edition, to be called *The Great Thoughts*. He is also completing a semi-autobiographical book about the four decades he once chronicled. It will contain a treasure of new footnotes to modern history, which Seldes feels free to reveal now that most of the principals are dead.

After a lifetime of critical thinking, muckraking and commitment to political and social progress, Seldes has not lost his optimism or his enthusiasm. But neither

George Seldes' *In Fact* ran the first expose of *Readers' Digest*; it early published studies on tobacco and cancer; in 1948 it praised Tito. Both the CP and HUAC censured Seldes' investigative reporting.

Old Muckraker

Derek Shearer

er has he forgotten the obstacles repeatedly placed in his way. "Anyone who was taught from childhood to be a nonconformist, a libertarian, and a freethinker was sure to be in trouble most of his adult days," Seldes wrote in the introduction to *Tell the Truth and Run* (1953).

Early years.

Born in 1890, Seldes spent his early childhood in Alliance, N.J., a utopian colony his father had founded. The elder Seldes corresponded for several years with Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy about the problems and promise of mutual aid and communitarian socialism. He was also an admirer of Henry George, author of *Progress and Poverty*, and a leading proponent of the "single tax." "Father was a libertarian in the American tradition," Seldes later wrote. "I doubt if he had read Karl Marx, but I have no doubt he knew and read Thoreau and Emerson and Wendell Phillips."

In order to feed his family, Seldes' father left Alliance and took up work at a Philadelphia drugstore. There he also served as secretary of the Friends of Russian Freedom—a group which raised money to support the 1905 uprising against the Czar. A year after the revolt failed, the radical Russian writer Maxim Gorki and his common-law wife came to Philadelphia on a speaking tour.

The Russian embassy let it be known that the couple were not actually married, and the exclusive Bellevue-Stratford Hotel—where Gorki was staying—threw the couple into the street. Gorki thereupon marched to the drugstore where the elder Seldes worked and held an indignant press conference.

In 1909, at age 19, George Seldes went to work in the city room of the *Pittsburgh Leader* for \$3.50 a week. In 1912, he took a year off to attend Harvard, but a lack of funds and interest brought him back to the *Leader*. There Seldes gained experience as a reporter until 1916, when he left the paper for good, spent a few penniless months in Greenwich Village, then boarded a ship for London to cover the World War. He was to be a foreign correspondent and free-lance writer for the next quarter century.

For a short time Seldes rewrote United Press wire copy, then gained admission to the press section of the American Army and headed for France. He was the youngest of a group of reporters that included Heywood Brown, Floyd Gibbons, Will Irwin, Edwin L. James and Westbrook Pegler.

After the war, Seldes became a correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*. He reported on the Russian Civil War from Moscow, meeting both Trotsky and Lenin. He remained from 1918 until 1923, when he was expelled for his dispatches on the Bolshevik purge of anarchists, social revolutionaries, and other political opponents. He moved to Rome, where he covered Mussolini and the rise of Italian fascism. Expelled from Italy in 1925, Seldes continued his work as a foreign correspondent in Central America, Europe and the Middle East.

In 1928, Seldes quit the *Tribune* and returned to the U.S. to become a free-lance writer. In the books that followed, and in articles for the *Saturday Evening Post*, *New Republic*, *Harper's* and *McCalls*, Seldes attempted to expose the suppression of news and corruption of the press by business interests.

Many publishers were less than enthusiastic about these exposes. Seldes recalls, "From the time I began criticizing the American press and publishing documentation that it could not refute or even answer, an attack began." His book *Lords of the Press*, which William L. White called the "most important book of the year," was boycotted by most reviewers.



From his rural Vermont home, Seldes today sees progress in newspaper reporting.

His old colleague Edwin James, who had become managing editor of the *New York Times*, sent down word that no book by Seldes could ever be reviewed in the *Times Book Review*. The management of the *Chicago Tribune* had Seldes' name removed from the bronze plaque commemorating the paper's foreign correspondents.

Nevertheless, Seldes' books were read and his magazine articles reached an appreciative audience. With the modest wife bought a farm in Vermont (Sinclair Lewis and Dorothy Thompson guaranteed the mortgage), where they planned to settle for good. But then the Spanish Civil War intervened.

"Here on our peaceful hills facing the Green Mountains through grey Chinese mists in serrated rows as far as we could see to the west, Helen and I read the news and talked and thought about it," Seldes wrote. "We felt now that this was more than a war; we felt that it was a conflict of ideas involving the world, and that we, too, like other people, were involved in it, although our country was neutral." The *New York Post* agreed to accredit Seldes as a correspondent, and they headed for Spain. There they stayed through the long agony of the civil war—returning to the U.S. in mid-1937 only long enough to sell their home and raise money for the Loyalist cause.

Founding *In Fact*.

Seldes returned to the U.S. convinced more than ever of the need to provide the American people with accurate information about public affairs. He had long toyed with the idea of starting a newsletter, in the muckraking tradition of his books and articles. But he lacked the funds to carry through such a project, and plans to contribute a regular column to existing publications repeatedly fell through.

Then, in early 1940, Bruce Minton—a neighbor of the Seldes' in Connecticut and a regular contributor to the *New Republic*—offered to put up a few thousand dollars to start a four-page weekly newspaper. The first issue of *In Fact* appeared on May 20, 1940, and was sent out to 6,000 subscribers—most of them AFL and CIO union locals.

What Seldes did not know at the time was that Minton was secretly a member of the American Communist Party. The Party, it seems, had decided to start a weekly paper which would reach out to a liberal and labor audience. It would follow the Party's line, but it would do so without resort to jargon—and all ties to the CP would be clandestine. A respect-

ed journalist—in this case Seldes—was to serve as a front for the operation. The plan was for Minton to write the newsletter from New York, while Seldes was expected to remain on his farm in Connecticut—contributing little more than his name.

As it turned out, the plan foundered on Seldes' enthusiasm and integrity. Instead of sitting on the sidelines, he turned out actual exposes and insisted they run as lead stories. Furthermore, Seldes complained from the beginning about Minton's rambling "think pieces" on world affairs. As Minton wrote years later, "to the horror and disappointment of the Party, Mr. Seldes proved to be beyond the usual methods of persuasion; his integrity, his personal honesty and forthrightness, his convictions were such that the Party was helpless."

In Fact's circulation skyrocketed—due entirely to Seldes' popularity—and the Party's position became untenable. It was clear that Seldes could not be pushed out without wrecking *In Fact*. The Party decided instead to write off the venture as a failure. By the fall of 1940 Minton's name had vanished from the masthead, and by early 1941 he had stopped contributing altogether.

In the prospectus for *In Fact*, Seldes wrote: "It will publish the real inside news, the kind newspapers frequently get but dare not print...." And indeed, over the next decade thousands of items were sent in by reporters whose papers wouldn't accept material that might antagonize or hurt business interests. Even Drew Pearson sent Seldes occasional items too hot for his syndicated column.

In Fact was one of the few publications to carry consumer news, including reports on research conducted by the Consumers' Union. Seldes also ran some of the earliest studies on the links between tobacco and cancer.

Seldes' experiences in Spain had left a deep impression, and he devoted himself and his newsletter to a crusade against American fascism. He attacked the National Association of Manufacturers as "the most powerful organized enemy of the American people." *In Fact* carried articles documenting how NAM and its leading corporate members—including General Electric, General Motors, and AT&T—opposed liberal legislation, spread anti-labor propaganda, and, in some instances, supported Nazi Germany and fascist Italy before America's entry into World War II.

In 1942, Seldes published the first expose of the *Readers' Digest*. He showed how it was not a simple digest of other

publications, but instead commissioned and planted articles that suited the conservative line of its owner, and then "selected" them for its own pages. Seldes also documented close parallels between the *Digest's* line and the fascist line.

From its inception, *In Fact* was subject to vitriolic attacks from right-wing newspapers, magazines and politicians. But this was the era of the united front against fascism, and Seldes' readership continued to grow—reaching a circulation peak of 176,000 by 1947.

In 1948, Seldes visited Yugoslavia and interviewed Marshall Tito, publishing a series of articles supporting Tito's independent socialism. Then, in 1950, he took a critical view of all parties to the Korean War, and members of the Communist Party reacted indignantly. "Immediately angry cancellations of subscriptions began pouring in," recalls Seldes. "They threw my newsletter out of the so-called Progressive Bookshops. American Communists began a boycott of *In Fact*, and eventually helped put it out of business, no doubt about that."

But the greatest blow to *In Fact's* survival came from the right, and the chilling effects of the McCarthyist repression. Labor unions and liberals cancelled their subscriptions in droves. By late 1950, *In Fact's* circulation had dropped below 50,000—less than a third of what it had been three years earlier. The newsletter was losing money and losing its influence. In October 1950 the Seldeses published their last issue, bought a small house in Vermont and retired from the press.

In July 1953, Seldes was subpoenaed before a closed session of Joe McCarthy's Senate subcommittee, where he openly answered questions about his career and beliefs. Roy Cohn, the subcommittee's chief counsel, probed Seldes about his "subversive books" and his "Communist cell" in Connecticut. Seldes answered directly: "I have a right to my views. I am a liberal, or a radical, not a Communist. I have a right to express myself that way." The subcommittee evidently thought it unwise to hear Seldes in open session. "Seldes is cleared," McCarthy told reporters. It was hardly a consolation. Seldes went back to compiling quotations in the Vermont countryside.

Still busy.

Few publications or people (outside of old friends) have shown much interest in Seldes since Joe McCarthy "cleared" him in 1953. But he is by no means out of touch. He keeps up-to-date by reading periodicals and newspapers in the Dartmouth library. His curiosity seems limitless.

Relaxing in their living room, Seldes reflected on improvements in press coverage over the years. "Progress has been made. Thanks to Nader, papers will now run consumer news, and papers like the *Washington Post* aren't afraid to expose the military-industrial complex—what we used to call the 'Merchants of Death.' And the *Los Angeles Times*, which used to be so anti-labor, runs Watergate exposes."

If the established media have indeed taken some steps toward responsible and honest journalism, a good part of the credit must go to George Seldes and the handful of other editors and reporters who have carried a long and lonely struggle against news management by publishers, censorship by advertisers, and fear of political repression. ■

Derek Shearer is a journalist in Los Angeles who writes frequently for *IN THESE TIMES*.

Greenwood Press, 51 Riverside Ave., Westport, Conn. 06880 has reprinted the entire ten years of *In Fact* in four volumes. The set sells for \$195.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



FILM

Love and politics in 1915

NORTHERN LIGHTS
Cine Manifest

Cine Manifest, the people who made *Over Under Sideways Down* and *Prairie Fire*, have made an engaging feature film called *Northern Lights*, about farmers' politics in the Midwest in the early years of the century. They've been making this film (and learn-it on \$330,000) for three years.

Now that they've finished, maybe we'll get to see it.

John Hanson, co-filmmaker with Rob Nilsson, came to the Chicago Film Festival directly from Europe, where he showed the film and looked for distributors. The feature falls between two categories.

"The far leftists seemed to think it was too Hollywood," he explains, "but distributors don't find it Hollywood enough." Questions of categories didn't stop Scandinavian TV stations nor a German theatrical distributor from buying it, though.

But Hanson and Nilsson want most to show it to Americans. The picture premiered in North Dakota, where people packed theaters to see a movie about people like themselves. PBS bought the film for showings in 1979, but the men are looking for theatrical dates too.

They started out to make a documentary about the prairie country Non Partisan League. They soon decided to make it fiction, to tell the more personal side of the story and to revive this history in the most accessible way. So they settled on the fiction feature.

The scene is a 1915 North Dakota farm. Father drinks too much and dies early, leaving the boys a bankrupt operation. One brother works ever more frantically on the farm. The other, Ray (Robert Rehling), looks for a way to change his life.

Non Partisan League organizers preach at him. (He first brushes them off, saying, "I never met an organizer with a sense of humor.") The NPL is a farmers' group supporting candidates in either party who are pro-farmer.

In North Dakota they support state ownership of grain elevators (private elevators rob farmers by underpricing their wheat), controlling freight charges (railroads charge outrageous rates), and opening a state bank (bankers, friends with railroad and eleva-

tor men, hover over farmers to evict them and resell their farms).

It isn't easy to decide to join the NPL. It's too much like making a fuss, like complaining instead of working, for this upright farmer. But finally, the



Inga wonders how hard you have to work for a better life.

NPL appeals to his dignity when he faces eviction. Leaving his brother at home, he goes off to organize for the NPL for the coming election.

Inga, his fiancée (Susan Lynch), takes it hard. She sides with him; but their wedding is postponed, while crisis after crisis eats into their few moments together.

They both see it, and say it: It's too hard being apart and working to change the world. And it's not enough to have each other and live in silent misery.

The farmers win the election, and the couple endures. It's all partial; you can feel the cost, the weariness of wary victory. And we know with hindsight that the NPL was defeated in later elections and that its history was summarily buried. But it's a story worth remembering.

Northern Lights is good entertainment; it does well with an old-fashioned storytelling style. That style, as well as the choice for black-and-white, lends the subject an archaic dignity.

The film is understated throughout. The characters are calmly convincing, honest without ever being earnest. They mostly play themselves; there were only a handful of professional actors in the film. Understatement makes it easy to trust these people and their choices. They're not symbols or messages and morals, but hard-headed farmers.

The work is hard, and the landscapes are immense. Some

moments remind you of *Days of Heaven*, without the self-importance. Judy Irola's excellent camera work makes the simple beautiful, and in sequences where the farmers work through a blizzard her camera work (with Hanson's) captures the intense physical struggle with the land.

But this farmer's romance doesn't tell us why the NPL was special, why 40,000 farmers signed up in the first year. The NPL's leaders, especially Arthur C. Townley (who's only a shadow here), came out of the Socialist Party. They gave up third-party politics to run left candidates within the major parties.

The thrill of the NPL for an anti-corporate farmer was in seeing a chance to win elections for the first time. But the film's close focus on the young people prevents historical depth.

The organizing scenes we have don't always work either. In particular, a scene in which Ray sits down to Socratize older men rings false. You know those close-mouthed farmers knew more and said less than they do in that scene.

The personal drama can also falter. Inga's quiet behind-the-scenes work goes unnoticed, and her frustrations unexpressed, until in a long candlelit monolog, filmed in painful close-up, she pours out her anguish over being ignored and working silently in a marriage. Although she talks about her mother's life, it's clear she fears for her own future. But this outburst from the quiet character we've known shocks, but doesn't convince.

It reminds you that the story, although it refers to families, tells us mostly about a young couple in love. And although it boldly indicates the real problem of keeping a personal life intact while doing political work, it tells us mostly about the trouble of romance under those conditions, not about women's lives and work.

There are no heroes here, no slogans, and no cheap answers—just the kind of movie that neighborhood theaters are calling for: a film the whole family can watch, together or separately, without squirming. —Pat Aufderheide

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FILM

Sluggish dancing and a big silly

SLOW DANCING IN THE BIG CITY (United Artists)

Cross *Love Story*'s dying heroine with *Rocky*'s underdog who goes the distance and you have John Avildsen's *Slow Dancing in the Big City*, a Hollywood plot that also cashes in on the current rage for dance and ethnicity.

In Brooklyn-born *Daily News* reporter Lou Friedlander (Paul Sorvino), Hollywood's romance with ethnic tough guys finds yet another hero. Unlike the working-class losers of *Rocky* and *Joe* (both directed by Avildsen), Lou's supposed to be an intriguing mix of proletarian style and big-city smarts. He's also got a heart of gold that makes his hard-hitting column throb with the humanity of the unsung city.

What starts out as a potentially interesting character based on Jimmy Breslin turns all too quickly into a picture of working-class "naivete." Lou's bumbling inarticulateness, his penchant for saying "ain't," his worship of a high-toned WASP—they add up less to characterization than Avildsen's middle-class projection of what "ethnics" are really like.

If Friedlander panders to Hollywood's romance with the ethnic, the role of Sarah, played by newcomer Anne Ditchburn, reflects its discovery of dance.

A ballet dancer with the Manhattan Dance Company, Sarah stands at a turning point in her life. The Lincoln Center premiere of her starring vehicle is only three days off. She has dumped her East Side boyfriend (and plush private studio) for a grubby third-floor walk-up where she meets a *Hustler*-reading Puerto

Rican janitor and the instantly-smitten Friedlander. She also discovers in these emotion-packed three days that she has developed fibromyocytosis, a disease that spells an end to dancing.

You can imagine the rest. Tough guy falls in love with fragile princess, she says "no" till after the show where she gets a standing ovation although all she really wants is a corned beef sandwich.... There's also a sub-plot about a Puerto Rican kid junkie with the talent of Gene Krupa who o.d.'s the night of the premiere when he would have gotten his first taste of the big world. The clichés pour thick and fast.

So *Slow Dancing in the Big City* rediscovers (in company with *Paradise Alley* and *Rocky*) the romance of the "little guy." Perhaps as important in terms of marking trends, as the second major film to cash in on the dance boom, it will shape people's ideas about dance for years to come.

Dance, dance, dance.

Like *Turning Point*, *Slow Dancing* is about the glamorous and elite world of ballet. It turns the sweat and daily discipline of the dancer into the stuff of myth; it canonizes ballet dancers as the supreme expression of a society gone berserk with

physical fitness. Lastly, it reinforces the image of women as instruments of a male choreographer's creative vision, a stereotype valid for ballet perhaps but unacceptable in the larger context of American dance.

Whether by chance or as an in-joke of choreographer Robert North, *Forest Dreams* bears an uncanny resemblance to Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*, and in particular, a revival staged by Diaghilev's *Ballet Russes* in the late '20s.

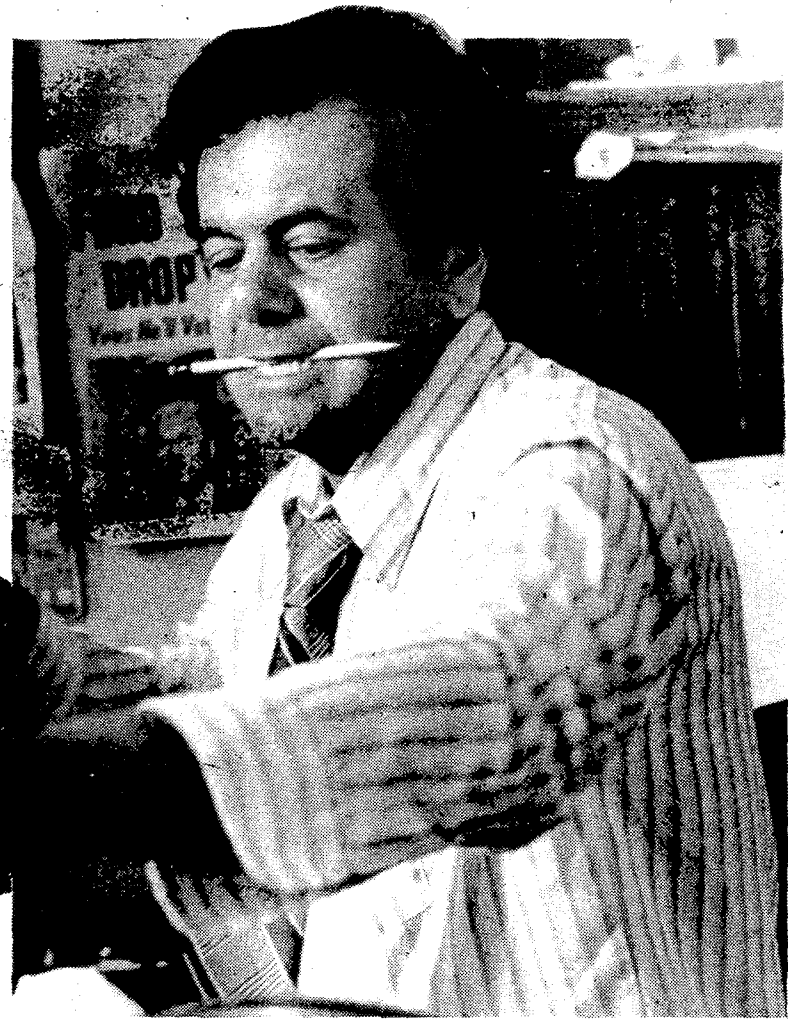
But North's choreography, like Bill Conti's score, palls against the original, a masterpiece of the 20th-century repertoire. What North dishes up in *Slow Dancing*

is rather dull modern dance "balanced" by the addition of toe shoes, pirouette pyrotechnics, and some dramatic lifts.

As Sarah, Ditchburn is no Fonteyn. But she brings to the screen a cool elegance and expressiveness. Like most ballet dancers, her body is strong and boyishly



The movie's 'mayfly' ballerina, a frail triple victim, is in real life a tough, good choreographer.



Feature writer Lou (above) exercises his compassion on Sarah the frail dancer (below, left).

lean, a finely-tuned instrument made for the speed and precision of today's choreography.

In the dance scenes Avildsen is bent less on capturing that body in motion than in sexualizing its component parts. Except for the Lincoln Center sequence (filmed by a separate crew), he rarely shoots from below (to give line and height to the moving body) and avoids medium-distance shots altogether. Instead, he turns the camera on Sarah's torso and face, sensualizing them through close-ups. In shooting her as he does, Avildsen ignores her strengths as a dancer while stressing her fragility and fragmentation as a woman.

False passivity.

In Sarah, Avildsen fashioned an image of passivity far outweighing the discipline and single-mindedness we are to believe she brings to her art. She is triply a victim: of fate in giving her a body unsuited to dance, of a choreo-

grapher who alternately threatens and cajoles to make her realize his aesthetic vision, and of the men in her life who continually invade her physical and emotional space.

Unlike Sarah, Ditchburn is herself no ballerina victim. In addition to dancing with the National Ballet of Canada, she is one of the company's rising young choreographers. As a woman trained in ballet in a century when the number of women ballet (as opposed to modern dance) choreographers can be counted on one hand, Ditchburn is indeed a rarity.

It is a sign of Avildsen's attitude, then, that Ditchburn's own choreography (in the roof sequence) is played down both in the credits and the film's publicity.

Lynn Garafola is researching a book on Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* in London.

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EVENTS

HEARST STRIKE 40TH ANNIVERSARY REUNION—Chicago. Sat., Dec. 2, Midland Hotel. Strike films, slides, literature. Write: Gerald Minkinen, Exec. Dir., Chicago Newspaper Guild, 230 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60601 or call Henry Wineberg. (312)675-3222. We need names and addresses of other strikers against the Chicago Herald & Examiner and the Chicago American.

BOSTON READERS—Robert Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, will speak on "Justice on Trial: The Rosenberg Case Re-examined" in Godard Chapel, Tufts University, Somerville, Wednesday, Nov. 29, 8 pm.

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newsletter. Political, community or union experience in Connecticut/So. New England desirable. Fundraising ability a plus. Salary negotiable. Write or call Louis Zemel, Unity on the Left, Powder Ridge, Middlefield CT 06455; or (203)349-3454.

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ROCK



Angry Czech rockers go to prison

By Theo Blomquist

Western underground culture never really dies, it just passes on...and up.

Rock music, for example, was once considered a commie plot to undermine the national morals and social structure. In fact, rock has been and can be subversive. But today rock is a multi-billion dollar industry whose products are Peter Dinklage and groups like Kiss. We lost.

Mick Jagger seems to have at least sensed the peculiarity of his situation in *Some Girls* "Respectable":

Well, we're all respected in society

We don't worry about the things that we used to be
We're dropping heroin with the President

Yes, it's a problem, sir, but it can be bent...

But *Some Girls* still calls for a suspension of disbelief. It asks us to accept that these filthy rich, jet-set superstars share our common experience. It is asking too much. Jagger is miles above us, and his "blues" can only be bullshit. He and Keith Richards certainly have problems, but they ain't got no blues.

Meanwhile, in Czechoslovakia, the lines are more clearly drawn. On one hand, we have what French poet Louis Aragon has called a "Biafra of the Spirit." It is the wasteland of post-1968 official culture. On the other, we have the self-conscious, non-collaborationist underground of the "second culture."

Co-optation is not an issue there, as one of the Second Culture's spokespersons explains: "In Bohemia, the situation is essentially different, and far better than in the West, because...the first culture doesn't want us and we don't want anything to do with the first culture. This eliminates the seed of destruction: the desire for recognition, success, the winning of prizes and titles and last but not least, the material security that follows."

His name is Ivan Jirous. He is in jail today. Just a month after release from his third prison term a year ago, he was rearrested for making an unannounced speech at an art exhibit in a Prague youth club. The paintings on display, he had commented, would outlive any official youth organizations. This brought on the Czech authorities' pet charge of "organizing

a criminal disturbance of the peace" and on May 8 he landed his fourth prison sentence—one and a half years.

Plastic people.

Jirous is also artistic director of the Plastic People of the Universe, a rock band of the theatrical ex-psychedelic variety. Rock has been the main musical expression of the Second Culture, and the Plastic People its leading exponent.

They came together ten years ago, as the Kremlin's divisions demolished the exhilarating eight-month period of cultural and political freedom known as the Prague Spring.

As the underground burgeoned, so did police repression. In 1974,

record without the Plastics' knowledge. Now we too can hear that for which "vulgar is too weak a word" (Rude Pravo).

We also have an extraordinary 60-page book, *The Merry Ghetto*, sold with the record, detailing in lively color the story of the Second Culture.

The Plastic People were once heavily influenced by the Velvet Underground and Frank Zappa ("The Mothers of Invention released us for a while/from the enforced camp life/from thoughts of next working Saturday"). But, as the record jacket claims, they have done much more than simply import Western rock into an alien scene. "Their music and [poet Egon] Bondy's lyrics are saturated with the atmosphere of

"Nothing we can do can create the impression that everything is in order."

government attacks on unofficial youth activities became nationwide. Brutal raids, confiscations, arrests and trials followed. One critic noted, "Today the police are so determined to monitor every aspect of the music scene that they even break in on legally arranged concerts and check the ID cards of both audiences and musicians. What is surprising is not that there are occasional outbursts of violence, but that there are so few."

When Jirous and the Plastic People's sax and clarinetist (Vratislav Brabanec) went on trial for "organizing a disturbance of the peace" in September 1976, philosopher Jan Patocka and playwright Vaclav Havel were two members of the emerging political opposition to speak on their behalf. On the other side, the official party daily, *Rude Pravo*, published a succinct judgment: "They don't like anything that goes on in our society. They are exponents of the right who hate our system and use every means to change it."

Bootleg dissidence.

Using tapes made by the Plastics, (in 1973-74, in a castle, on mostly homemade apparatus and recording gear), partisans of the Bohemian underground in France and England pressed their first

Prague, a city where the mystic and the mundane, the absurd and the real, mingle in every day life." It's too bad this crudely produced (but worthy) collection of Plastics' pieces is all we have to go on.

Because the Plastic people are not waiting. They count on nothing. They've simply turned their backs on the First Culture and then celebrated the feat. Egon Bondy screams it:

Go ahead, make imbeciles of yourselves with expeditions to the moon
Go ahead; get as rich as you can
accept any disgrace as your own

it's got nothing to do with us.
We shall be the silent majority first to the delight of the overlords
and then to their dismay when they see we are living without them.

Who knows what might come from it all?
Fear of us breeds hatred of us
the hatred of the idiot for the normal person
the hatred of the fascist for culture
the hatred of the jailer for the jailed.

Bondy's passion is religious as he reminds his literary comrades of their calling and the eternal power of their art:

You who are poets bear the responsibility for everything concerning humankind.
You shall redeem concentration camps
and the bestialities of police
and the putrefaction of affluent regimes.

Hard working rock.

A selection by Ivan Hartel (of Birmingham University) in *The Merry Ghetto* explains the ties and commitment of the Plastic People to the workers: "Their music is a powerful testimony coming straight from their everyday experience on the factory floor. They do not try to use their artistic skills as an escape from the arid social conditions in which they live with their fellow-workers."

Bile Svetlo (White Light) sings:
...There is nothing like the production of art... it brings respect—so dear to heart.
And if the ruler doesn't like it just bow a little
and everything will be all right.
Again you have a lot of work, 2,000 crowns for a new advert... Your life is nicely led...
As for the worker it's another turn of the screw into his head...

and:

We are no Artists
We are no Poets
We are the workers

Ivan Jirous' "Report on the Third Czech Musical Revival" in *The Merry Ghetto* concludes: "In the West many people who, because of their mentality, would perhaps belong among our friends, live in confusion. Here the lines of demarcation have been drawn clearly once and for all."

"Nothing that we can do can possibly please the representatives of official culture because it cannot be used to create the impression that everything is in order. For things are not in order."

The Second Culture might find some of the Punk/New Wave rockers and reggae groups that have teamed up with the Tom Robinson Band for Britain's highly successful "Rock Against Racism" movement as "perhaps belonging among their friends."

Johnny Rotten's Sex Pistols and bands like The Clash have always noisily proclaimed their distance from tax-exile-type superstars like Rod Stewart and Jagger. There are still hopeful signs in the West. But the Plastic People and Czechoslovakia's Second Culture show us our own confusion.

Plastic People of the Universe with The Merry Ghetto is available (50 francs) from SCOPA, c/o Jasquier, 89 rue Charles De Gaulle, 91440 Bures sur Yvette, France.

Theo Blomquist is a freelance writer living in Paris.

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PERHAPS AN ADOLPH DOLL?

In the teeth of resistance from religious groups and a retail-

ers' association, the Mattel Toy Company is distributing swastika-decorated toys in West Germany.

AH! WE'D BEEN WONDERING

A recent *Variety* headline reported, "Facelift Panic Among Actresses Traced to Male Chauvinism."



FIRE FOR HIRE

Photo by
Richard
Stromberg

By Kenneth A. Gosting
and Al DiFranco

THE KID WHO LIT THE MATCH
was just a junkie.

He had been found dead on the third floor of the four-story brick building by the firefighters. They managed to save the other tenants, but not him...or the building.

Around the corner, medics were bandaging the leg of a rookie who fell through the floor trying to get to the junkie before the whole place came down on them.

On another corner, a family shivered in the cold. The kids were crying and the old man just kept telling them to shut up and be glad they were alive.

The landlord was on the scene by the time they started rolling up the hoses.

"I just spent five grand on wood panelling and paint to fix the damn place up, and now the niggers burn it down on me."

Actually, the landlord was getting ready for his next move towards picking up a cool \$175,000 on one of the nation's hottest real estate scams—arson.

This fictitious example is what firefighters and insurance companies say is one way of cashing in on a \$2 billion-a-year illicit business that costs at least 1000 lives a year.

Fire-for-Hire rings and individual acts of arson for profit are estimated to be growing by 25 percent annually. And a study in Ohio shows that one out of every three fire insurance dollars spent covers arson frauds.

According to FBI director William Webster, only about 2 percent of suspected arsons result in convictions. Webster said, "If we were honest with ourselves, we would have to say that arson has not been properly addressed."

William E. Garneau, project director for Urban Educational Systems (UES) said, "Typically, law enforcement has looked for a kid, a minority, anything they can say started the fire."

The Boston-based UES has developed a computerized Early Warning System for arson based on community action and studies of complex property records in public files. Partially financed by a \$200,000 grant from the U.S. Fire Administration, UES's Garneau and associate David Scondras said arson is usually for profit rather than the work of malicious children and pyromaniacs.

UES has a formally trained arson investigator, an investigative reporter and a computer specialist on its staff. The computer program looks at the track record of property owners and their hardships—insurance claims, outstanding mortgages. It also accounts for inflated property values and the economic facts of the neighborhood.

In the next few weeks, the Early Warning System will be concentrated on Lynn, Mass., an old mill town ten miles north of Boston, and Lowell, 30 miles outside the



city. Candidates for next year's investigation include San Francisco and several other West Coast cities.

Scondras and Garneau cite some motivations for arson:

- The rehabilitation arson. The owner quickly gets a down payment to make improvements on the property.

- The abandoned building arson. The fire is set a day or so before a clause takes effect cancelling insurance after the building has been vacated.

- The parcel creation arson. This is a fast way to clear out a spot for a parking lot or new development without the hassles of rezoning.

- The loss of business arson. The arsonists take out an insurance policy to cover each day's lost profits.

Scondras said Boston's Symphony Row district had at least 30 fires since 1973—fires that claimed at least five lives and 32 buildings with property losses estimated at \$5.8 million.

From digging through files, Scondras noticed that it was more profitable for landlords to burn their buildings than to collect rent. Some of the least desirable properties had been sold at tremendously inflated prices—just before they burned.

With the help of Symphony Tenants Organizing Project, Scondras and Garneau found that many fires were wrongly attributed to children.

"To burn the interior of a brick building it takes a whole lot of effort. Vandals do not haul 25 gallons of gasoline to the top floor, set up a plastic pool, puncture it and then leave behind a timed incendiary device to ignite the gas as it drips down to the lower floors," Garneau said.

Insurance man Ralph Jackson of the Illinois Advisory Committee on Arson Prevention said that after the fire arsonists may multiply their profits by putting in claims on five or more separate fire insurance policies. He said new computer systems are even listing phoneticized claimant names in order to catch phoney spellings used on unwitting insurance policy salespeople.

According to Jackson, the dead junkie may have indeed lit the match, "but he

probably did it for \$25 or a few hits of heroin from a professional arsonist." Jackson said sometimes organized arson rings charge 10 or 15 percent of the expected insurance payoff, "but they usually want their money upfront."

Blaming junkies, vandals and low income minorities is a good cover for arsonists. Jackson said the pros can turn over a building in as little as 30 days after buying a policy.

The first thing the arsonist does after he buys the building is sell it—to one of his co-conspirators—who then holds the fire insurance policy. The law is on the side of the mortgage holder, who usually gets paid off no matter what caused the fire.

To avoid the risk of a murder rap, most arsonists try to drive the tenants out of a building before they burn it.

There may be warning fires—fires that, according to Jackson, set the stage for the big blaze. They also give the impression that the people in the building can't keep from wrecking it.

Jackson says the arson profile also includes absentee landlords who get so far behind in their utility payments that the heat gets turned off. With the sociological deck already stacked—the less reputable their characters the better—the lucky landlord may anger his tenants enough to do the job for him.

But if being obnoxious to people won't work, according to Jackson, the arsonists can make it look like they've changed their ways and start remodeling.

"They'll pile up plenty of wood and bring in cans of paint. Not latex paint, of course, but nice flammable oil-base stuff," he said.

And so the building goes. And maybe a few people with it.

And what about the fire at the outmoded commercial building? Even if nobody gets killed, the community loses a few more dollars from the tax base, more people are out of work and there's one more charred skeleton on the urban landscape.

(This article based on a story ©1978 by Pacific News Service)

Arson for profit brings in \$2 billion a year, costs 1000 lives, and is growing by 25 percent a year. Can a computer program stop it?